University of Alberta

Edmonton's Musical Pathways: A Study in Narrative and Emplacement

by

Toscha Lorene Turner

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Music
Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 2008

Library and Archives Canada

Published Heritage Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada

Direction du Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-45745-0
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-45745-0

NOTICE:
The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:
L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

ABSTRACT

Situated within Edmonton's historical and geographic context, this thesis is an exploration of the connection between music and emplacement. Using my *local knowledge* I share some of the stories that Edmonton tells itself about itself, and through this vernacular narrative, I demonstrate the utility of grounded research models and the potential for advocacy that grows out of them by "giving voice to a critical language grounded in local concerns" (Garret-Petts 2006, 145). A case is also made that Edmonton has the potential to engage more actively in locality production on both grassroots and institutional levels through a visual examination of musical institutions in the city, and how they are linked through patron participation. This initial network examination enables a better perception of the possible economic and artistic synergies that exist within Edmonton's musical community that could be broadly translatable across its entire cultural scene.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my father, H.B. Turner, who taught me the importance of knowing where I come from.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my committee for taking the time to work with me through this endeavour, helping my work to become more interrogative and concise. I would especially like to acknowledge the many years of guidance that Henry Klumpenhouwer has given me.

I would also like to thank a number of people who have been instrumental and supportive in this process: Donna Maskell, for her patience and continued hard work on my behalf throughout all my years at the University of Alberta, without which I would have never made it to this point; Brenda Dalen, for her mentorship to me throughout my degree, and for helping me to realize the worth of my own words; Ed Jackson, for taking such an interest in me and my work, while also providing the seminal inspiration for this project; Paul Sharek, for being such a dedicated editor, advisor, cheerleader, advocate, and taskmaster.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Lorene Turner, and my husband, Jonathan Sharek. No word in this thesis would have been possible without their encouragement, patience, and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I. Prologue 1

PART II. Literature Shaping My Story 9

PART III. My Music and My Place 28

PART IV. Knowing Edmonton 44

PART V. An Exploratory Visual Study of Edmonton's Musical Networks 54

PART VI. Concluding Thoughts 67

Bibliography 72

Appendices 85

- Appendix A Ethics Approval
- Appendix B Ethics Application
- Appendix C Consent Forms
- Appendix D Sample Survey
- Appendix E Survey Results

LIST OF TABLES

1. Results ranging from least important to most important 58

LIST OF FIGURES

1. A Story Map 19

2. Story Map of a Nine Year-old Boy 20

3. Two contrasting maps of the Mission Hill area of Boston 22

4. Crumpled Map 24

5. My Childhood Mental Map of Edmonton 25

6. Sol Le Witt, 'Map of Amsterdam without the Amstel River' 26

7. My Musical Pathways in Edmonton 38

8. Social Network Diagram 59

9. The Geography of Important Musical Venues 64

PART I. Prologue

> All the great narratives of the world of literature contain maps, maps that we can read… All these great works contain maps representing a symbolic landscape, a symbolic cartography. Yet these maps remain implicit (Gandelman 1991, 81).

As Clifford Geertz reveals in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, our culture is made up of the stories that we tell ourselves about ourselves. These narratives shape and are shaped by the physical and social landscape in which they reside, creating and representing specific symbolic cartographies which are then culturally inscribed on a local community. Geertz argues that we read literature and listen to music in order to shape who we are but also, more importantly, to understand ourselves better. In Bali, this extends, among other things, to cock fights: "Its function, if you want to call it that, is interpretive: it is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience; a story they tell themselves about themselves" (448). If this textual interpretation applies to discrete aesthetic cultural rituals, such as those Geertz describes, then it can, by extension, also be applied to mundane experiences such as listening to poplar leaves in the wind or writing a research paper - in short, every human action and experience could be identified and analyzed as a text. If the function of "culture" is then, as Geertz asserts, interpretive—stories that we tell ourselves about ourselves – then *all* we can ever hope to do through any type of research, which itself is a cultural text, is understand ourselves better. In this Geertzian spirit, my thesis has developed as a means to understand and talk about the world around me through the stories I weave about myself.

I am writing about Edmonton, Alberta, a landscape and culture that has been inscribed upon me since birth. My own story, both as an individual and as an Edmontonian, is inextricably linked to the city's history, and my own maps are made up of the paths of everyone and everything that has come before me. This culture is my shared inheritance. To borrow again from Geertz, my *local knowledge* is one of the stories that Edmonton tells itself about itself—my *local knowledge* is not only integral to the culture of this city, it *is* the culture of this city. This is not to imply that I am *representative* of this culture. Clearly that claim cannot be made by any one person or group. However, as I exist in and traverse through my community, I am inextricably *of* this place and the theoretical work that I have undertaken has arisen from this habitus – from the environment I have occupied, the personal attachments I have formed, and the circumstances I have confronted. I am approaching this topic from my own varied perspectives as an interdisciplinary graduate student in music theory and sociology, as a professional musician who has taught and freelanced within the urban context I am describing, and as a local citizen in this dynamic community. I will be the primary source of data in this project. Thus, while I draw extensively on interviews, artworks, and literature to explore the issues at stake in this paper, what is truly under examination is my symbolic cartography as an implicit narrative within Edmonton's "world of literature."

This paper is an exploration of the connection between music and emplacement, and I will argue that the idea of locality is increasingly important in a globalized world. Edmonton's historical and geographic context provides a concrete location in which to

situate these issues. Through the use of vernacular narrative, I hope to demonstrate the utility of grounded research models and the potential for advocacy that grows out of them by "giving voice to a critical language grounded in local concerns" (Garret-Petts 2006, 145). Further, a case will be made, through an examination of a map of musical institutions in the city, and how they are linked through patron participation, that Edmonton has the potential to more actively engage in locality production on both grassroots and institutional levels. This initial examination of networks will enable a better perception of the possible economic and artistic synergies that could exist within Edmonton's musical community that will be broadly translatable across its entire cultural scene.

Musical and cultural life in Edmonton is very closely integrated with the landscape of the surrounding community. In part because of the isolated frontier location, and a maverick small town identity, Edmonton does, in fact, possess a vibrant and diverse musical community of artists, administrators, media, institutions, and venues that are all connected through both the public and private participation of individuals. As George Lipsitz points out in his forward to *My Music*,

> We enter a world of music already in progress around us.... We encounter music everywhere—at the schools and the symphony halls, in the churches and the taverns, on the radio and on television. Our musical practices do not blend life and art as thoroughly as they do in some parts of Africa, but they nonetheless function as nodes in a larger network, as complicated and diverse ways for people to reaffirm old identities and to forge new ones (ix).

This network in Edmonton has evolved over time, and presents an important topic for investigation and representation, not only for the local musical community, but also for the broader society that is reflected by it. The particular culture of how things are done here is not specific to the creative or musical community, but an orientation that pervades the social organization of the city itself. Ruth Finnegan highlights the importance of this connection between musical life and broader city life:

> Contrary to many assumptions, the practice of local music turns out to be relevant for central questions about life in urban industrial society. It makes a difference, for example, to one's assessment of the significance or otherwise of 'community', or 'class', of how people's lives are ordered in space and time within a modern urban setting, and of the processes of continuity and change by which our culture is both maintained and developed (1989, 297).

To begin to frame this statement and this thesis within my own musical practices, after spending five years at the University of Alberta working on several manifestations of an undergraduate degree, I was just about finished in 2001. I had four classes and a recital remaining to complete both a BA in Honours Music, and a BMus in Performance Double Bass. I was in a great position at the U of A. I knew all my professors well, was the principal player in all my ensembles, had many good friends, and was living rent-free with my parents just blocks away from where I went to school. After taking four years of overloads and intersession, I was preparing to convocate with honours in two degrees and was eagerly anticipating a life outside of school where I would marry my college sweetheart and be lucky to get a job at Starbucks. Since I had gone away to boarding

school in British Columbia for high school, I had none of the aspirations of freedom that living away from parents represented for many. Consequently, returning to Edmonton and the campus that I had grown up adjacent to most of my life was a comfortable and familiar path. It was a place in which I was supported and connected, as well as being insulated and utterly dependant. Then, in 2001, I decided to move. Since it was mostly performance credits that were left to complete, I realized that I had an opportunity waiting for me in the form of the Canadian University (CANEX) Exchange Program. As I stated in my application to the program, I saw this as a chance to expand my horizons:

> I have gained a great deal from working in the music program here, but at this time, I feel that I have pushed the limits of what I can achieve both musically and academically at the University of Alberta. While I am fortunate to have been able to make use of my musical skills and excel in many areas (playing both the bass and piano in several ensembles and recitals, accompanying and conducting choirs, and singing), this has been at the expense of the time and focus I would like to be able to spend on my studies in performance on double bass.

And so I moved to Montreal. This was a move that pushed me into a world of adult responsibilities and opened my eyes to a side of music I had never witnessed before.

Through active and passive listening experiences, dance, song, performance, play, and years of lessons, music has been tightly woven into my personal history and has shaped the course of my life. While I have always sung in choirs and played the piano, it was my involvement in double bass that brought me into contact with a larger, more diverse musical community. I began playing in orchestras when I was eleven and to solo when I

was thirteen. In high school I became involved in jazz as a bassist, pianist, and solo vocalist, which allowed me to travel across North America to conferences and festivals that introduced me to professionalism and a range of musical institutions. When I applied to the University of Alberta in 1996, I had not considered music as anything more than a leisure pursuit, and began in sociology, but soon realized that my real passion lay in the field of music. Initially I studied piano, switching to double bass half way through the second year of my Bachelor of Music, but became increasingly fascinated with the contextual details of what I was playing. This lead to the decision not only to continue the performance degree I had begun, but also pursue an Honours program in Musicology.

When I finally arrived in Montreal I was not a hayseed by any account, but living and playing there was a transformative experience for me. I witnessed creative synergy between institutions, artists, musicians, large commercial enterprises, and small entrepreneurs that was resourceful and imaginative. It was there that my interest in the vitality of a creative culture peaked as the contrasts between the innovative community life of Montreal and my insular atmosphere in Edmonton became apparent. There was obviously talent and creative energy in Edmonton, but there seemed to be neither the integration between creative, educational and commercial sectors, nor the cohesive creative community that I witnessed everywhere in Montreal. I was very excited. I saw limitless potential in how Edmonton could be transformed from an isolated hinterland into a global city and the cultural Mecca of the Canadian North. When I returned home in 2002, I began giving lessons at Grant MacEwan College, played and sang in ensembles at the

University, and started subbing with the Edmonton Symphony – all things that put me in contact with people that could effect change in our community.

Change, however, was not on anyone else's mind. While peers who were close to me in age had enthusiasm, they had little time to spare outside the jobs and commitments that were required for them to eat and pay their rent. Co-workers who were older and better established financially, meanwhile, had little incentive to do more than maintain the careers they had worked to develop. This had not been the case in Montreal, why was it so in Edmonton? Everyone I met in Edmonton seemed to have found a niche and was either unable or unwilling to expand their sights and their responsibility beyond established ways of being in the world. I encountered a general malaise and ease with the status quo that astonished me. Ideas about doing things differently, involving different people, and creating new niches for creative work were met with reactions ranging from caution to bewilderment.

I experienced the first verbal articulation of this after beginning my Master's degree at the University. I had decided to organize a performance event in which other graduate students would perform, and hopefully raise money as well as the profile of grad students in the Music Department. The Music department has a number of performance spaces that are available for students and student ensembles at no charge, which is obviously a wonderful resource for young performers. However, they are not versatile spaces, are not well marked, are not easily accessible, and are not openly public venues. When I

suggested that these spaces did not meet my needs and rented another space instead, an administrator complained that the decision was both inconsequential and impractical. Could people not see the opportunity, and indeed the necessity, in reaching beyond themselves? Were the benefits of creating a fluid and dynamic creative community not absolutely self-evident like they had been in Quebec? Of course not. In a fiscally conservative political climate as in Alberta, where everything is reduced to the bottom line, such matters rarely survive a cost-benefit analysis. As Elaine Calder, former Edmonton Symphony managing director, pointed out, "This is a Darwinian province. Only the strong survive, and the strong do not have deficits" (Fenwick 2007, 34). To suggest that this is the only cause is an oversimplification. Adherence to a bottom line endures everywhere that capitalism does, but Alberta is a unique conformist political environment in which, "…a dissenting voice is considered rude, if not traitorous, which really does not serve democracy in the kind of Alberta we have today" (Flanagan 2008, 6). Edmonton, as a city within this context, also demonstrates a distinctive social character. While individual talent and potential was not dramatically different than in Montreal, there are a host of unique issues and discourses that reside only in Edmonton as a locality.

PART II. Literature Shaping My Story

Three books were seminal in my formulation of this project. *My Music: Explorations of music in daily life* is a compilation of forty-one edited interviews with people ranging in age from four to eighty-three, that explores how music functions in the lives of diverse individuals. It was compiled in the 1980s by students at SUNY Buffalo as part of a project called "Music in Daily Life." The students interviewed approximately 150 relatives, friends and acquaintances in the Buffalo area for the project, asking them "What is music about for you?" (Crafts, Cavicchi, & Keil 1993, 2). Responses to the question were idiosyncratic, contradictory, banal, surprising, and complex, illustrating the deficiency of stereotypes and generalizations commonly made about social groups and musical taste. As Charles Keil points out in his introduction, real tastes are multiple, just as real people are more multifaceted and ambiguous than academic and popular abstractions indicate:

> Like your fingerprints, your signature, and your voice, your choices of music and the ways you relate to music are plural and interconnected in a pattern that is all yours, an "idioculture" or idiosyncratic culture in sound… a musical world that each person can call his or her own (2).

To illustrate this principal: My best friend and I both grew up in the same neighbourhood, three blocks from each other. While we met in grade two, our pathways never meaningfully connected until we took the same aural skills class in our first year of university. Despite this, we are doppelgangers in practically every way. The dramatically younger siblings of older parents, we essentially grew up as only children,

didn't play soccer like all the other kids, had mothers that were musically involved, excelled on stringed instruments from the time we were young, did well in school without really being interested, don't manage money well, daydream, are good with our hands, and have both had professional careers in music. We were in the same classes and ensembles in our undergraduate program, moved to Montreal at the same time, have both pursued graduate degrees, love martial arts movies, taught in the same studio, have greater imaginations than determination, both lost a parent during our graduate studies, and both still eat at our childhood homes more than once a week. Yet despite being so musically, culturally and socially entwined, our musical and aesthetic tastes are vastly divergent. He loves humming along to Hillary Duff, Sting and Yo-Yo Ma by himself in the car as much as I love listening to Bjork, Led Zeppelin, and Indian ragas with my husband as we clean our home. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Bourdieu draws explicit links between class and preferences for certain types of music. While at one time, appreciation of classical music might have been seen as a bourgeois class marker, the "omnivorous appropriation" (Peterson and Kern 1996, 900) of my friend and I might now be seen as consistent with the modern highbrow equivalent. However, the diverse sample of respondents in *My Music* and their likewise diverse musical tastes seems to contest this assertion. Consequently, what drew me to *My Music* is its focus on the importance of individual opinions and tastes, their complexity and their uniqueness—while my best friend and I come from almost identical socioeconomic and cultural demographics, we cannot simply be generalized.

I see these literal, character-forming stories we tell ourselves about ourselves of as much import as the figurative, cultural ones we tell ourselves as the broader cultural community of which we are a part. An essay called "Walking in the City" in Michel de Certeau's, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, begins with the author standing atop the former World Trade Center looking out over Manhattan. From this vantage point, the city is viewed in gestalt, in contrast with the complex, unpredictable city that one moves through down below. "Down below" is the realm of lived, grassroots experience, inhabited by walkers, *Wandersmanner* (92), who use and transform space, defying and shaping the structural discipline imposed by the built environment. As de Certeau points out, the real world is a messy complicated place where each of us act upon and are acted upon by cultural and structural restraints. Keil states of his study that, "… there is nothing very precise, repeatable, predictable, verifiable, law-seeking, etc. about finding another person and talking to them about music" (Crafts, Cavicchi, & Keil 1993, 211); or indeed anything, I would argue, when it is examined "down below." *My Music* examines the distinct voices that get lost in studies of social groups and demonstrates, from the ground, the agency exhibited through individual uses of music. Keil speaks of this individualistic "science of the spirit" (211) in quoting Bruno Bettelheim's description of *Geisteswissenschaften* (the human sciences):

> The *Geisteswissenschaften* he called idiographic, because they seek to understand the objects of their study not as instances of universal laws but as singular events; their method is that of history, since they are concerned with human history and with individual ideas and values… Idiographic sciences deal with events that

never recur in the same form – that can be neither replicated nor predicted [but that can be understood] (211).

It was with this involved, ideographic ideal in mind that I formulated questions in order to explore the importance of different local musical venues to Edmonton residents for a network-mapping component as part of this project. While the researchers in the Music in Daily Life Project did not explicitly incorporate their own standpoints, I felt it was important to include my own responses to my questions, as my study has its foundation in my own cultural texts and the exploration of my own vernacular narrative. However, this also more clearly placed me at the same level as the participants in my study and better acknowledged my role as an equal agent in both how I experience music and how I shaped the conversation—two things that were not recognized in *My Music*.

A similar approach of using personal narrative to explore ideas of identity-making, and highlighting individual agents within a discursive construct like "music" or "city" is Ruth Finnegan's *Tales of the City: A Study of Narrative and Urban life.* Finnegan includes both long and short pieces of narrative to examine how "the city" (in this case Milton Keynes, a large town just North of London) is created and negotiated through discourse and personal narration, which she divides up into three sections: abstract stories of academics and theorists, stories of planners and policy makers anchored in the city of Milton Keynes, and personal stories of city dwellers. Unlike *My Music*, all of these tales are then presented within the theoretical context on urban life and narration, which, as a performative act, also shares rhetoric associated with music: "Story-tellings are used in the claiming or maintenance of identity, for self-legitimation and the validation of

experience.... They can both shape and contest social realities, both uphold and challenge power. They can express the underlying preoccupations and symbolisms of both individuals and groups" (172). I deeply admire the focus and perspective of this work in understanding how people in the city shape the character of the city through these performative acts.

While this was an important book in determining my ideas about the interaction between individuals and the landscapes they inhabit, it was another book by Finnegan that provides a model for the present study. *The Hidden Musicians: Music-making in an English Town* provides an account of the multiple worlds and pathways traveled by amateur urban musicians, again residing in Milton Keynes. Through an examination of the musical discourses of these different musical worlds, the study provides an ethnographic account of the variety of musical activities that take place in the town at that time. It documents the scope of urban music-making that had previously and traditionally been hidden in its far-reaching effects, as networks of amateur musicians had largely been unacknowledged and unstudied by both academics and cultural planners. As Finnegan points out:

> ...far from music-making taking a peripheral role for individuals and society—a view propagated in the kind of theoretical stance that marginalizes 'leisure' or 'culture' as somehow less real than 'work' or 'society'—music can equally well be seen as playing a central part not just in urban networks but also more generally in the social structure and processes of our life today (5).

It is, of course, a minority of a population that has direct participation in local musical

performance, but as Finnegan's study shows, the networks, or soft infrastructure, that support these practices are dense and far-reaching, including a vast array of people other than just performers. George Carney suggests that, "a place is a location that has a particular identity" (2003, 214), and David Harvey argues that power is derived from the ability to assign meaning to space, creating what we think of as 'place' (Berland 1998, 146). As Holly Kruse points out, locality and local identity is produced *in place* through a sense of shared local history, and networks of social relationships, such as those involved in musical performance (1999, 171). Because of the intensity and broad scope of these musical networks as sites for community development, there are far-reaching economic and cultural implications on both urban and national levels.

Through his examination of 18th century French politics in *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, Jacques Attali locates music at the core of Western civilization. In using music as a tool for enquiry, he asserts that both the social and the theoretical constructions of music coalesce to not only signify, but also play an active role in creating the economic, social, and political dynamics of Western society: musical processes of structuring noise become a metaphor for the political process of structuring community:

> All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality. It is what links a power centre to its subjects, and thus, more generally, it is an attribute of power in all its forms. Therefore, any theory of power today must include a theory of the localization of noise and its endorsement with form (6).

The human dynamics that are embodied in musical production are inherently social and political, coercive and collaborative, concerned both with identity formation and the establishment of social groupings. Music is at once a source of identification, a means of generating and enforcing social conformity, a powerful institutional form that both constrains action and creates a shared symbol of collectivity. As Leyshon, Matless, and Revill point out, Attali's statement, "...gives a central role for the spatial processes by which sounds are differentiated, and through which the economic, social, and aesthetic geographies forged through musical practices are intimately bound up with the production of space and place" (2). Finnegan's study explores the materiality of these geographies and how they are lived and mapped out in a true social world, demonstrating how these ideas become a grounded collective and active practice. She develops the idea of "pathways" that are habitually and symbolically traveled by individual practitioners and musical groups as a means of understanding the context in which, "...relationships could be forged, interests shared, and a continuity of meaning achieved in the context of urban living" (305).

As I have reflected on my own pathways and how they have been both shaped and constrained by living in Edmonton, the overlapping and dynamic nature of different musical traditions and established practices that Finnegan discusses become plain. The many different forms of musical activity engaged in by individual practitioners combines to create intersecting routes between locations and ensembles, pointing to both the individual and group nature of musical practices. As an individual, I travel to multiple performance and teaching venues, establishing or deepening the connections between

these places. My pathways are not mine alone, they are obviously shared by other musicians and have been kept open or extended through music. These individual, informal routes connect institutions, and if deep enough, can generate formal relationships and partnerships between cultural, arts, and academic sites.

A book that explicitly takes up this issue of personalized mapping is the third book that was instrumental in the formation of this project: *The Small Cities Book: On the cultural future of small cities*. A collection of twenty-five essays, poems, stories, and visual pieces, the book explores ideas of social capital, community asset building, space, and a local sense of place through the lens of the city of Kamloops, British Columbia. It was a self-consciously collaborative work between members of the local community, artists, and Thompson Rivers University, that examines the city as a cultural network and the roles that arts, cultural, and academic institutions can have within that setting. The researchers recognized that small cities occupy a cultural "third space" (Garret-Petts 2006, 2), which is neither completely rural nor urban, but constitutes a unique culturally and geographically defined community.

The challenges facing such a community are shared by others of both larger and smaller size, but the principal issue studied in Kamloops was the importance of social capital, or the wealth and breadth of social relationships, in creating and sustaining community participation. The inclusion of artists in the research process facilitated the work, which would normally be found only on the shelves of other academics, to be presented in galleries and schools. By allowing this kind of accessibility, widespread dissemination,

and public participation, the project created a place for learning about local cultural heritage, community dialogue, and cultural capital creation. They recognized that artistic presentation has value on every level of a community:

> Urban planners and policy makers recognize that artistic works can enable dialogue between diverse people and groups; that cultural heritage can become a focal point for regenerating derelict neighbourhoods or indeed, for reinventing a whole city's *sense of place*; and that by valuing self-expression, the arts and culture contribute to active citizenship (6).

I initially encountered this book at a conference of "The Creative City Network of Canada." Held in Trois Rivieres, Quebec, it was mostly aimed at city planners, cultural workers, and civil servants from cities and towns across Canada, but there was an academic portion to the conference and the speakers were a mix of the two groups. The whole conference was very exciting and bewildering for me—it was the first conference I had ever attended, and while I had very little in common with the other attendees, I finally felt that there were other people doing what I was interested in doing. Within this new and exciting context, *The Small Cities Book* was particularly striking because it presented practical and accessible strategies, a feature that characterized most of the other presentations, with academic theory and intellectual conceptualization, something that was clearly not the focus of the conference. The embodied vernacular knowledge of city planners and non-specialist community members was valued on an equal field with the highbrow linguistic understanding of the university academics that had forged research pathways and partnerships into the Kamloops community. The study not only acknowledged the intercourse between local and scientific ways of knowing, but created

an important relationship between the sanctified social world of university and the local community in which that institution was located.

One means of inquiry employed in the book is "story mapping," in which participants were asked to draw a visual representation of "their own Kamloops," then share the story of the maps they had created. This method of vernacular theory is, "...situated in [the] intermediate space where image, embodied knowledge, and discursive knowledge overlap" (148). Using both image and narration allowed the participants to, "*know* their subjects differently" (148), by exploring, augmenting and validating verbal knowledge. Most story maps fall somewhere between a public, social representational style and a private, personal symbolic style. In figure one, this participant's map demonstrates local geographic knowledge and provides an inventory of her most important Kamloops landmarks in a relatively conventional representational style. However, the map also symbolically stretches through time to include structures that no longer exist and family that has moved or passed away, fusing public and shared cartographic knowledge with a personally symbolic temporality.

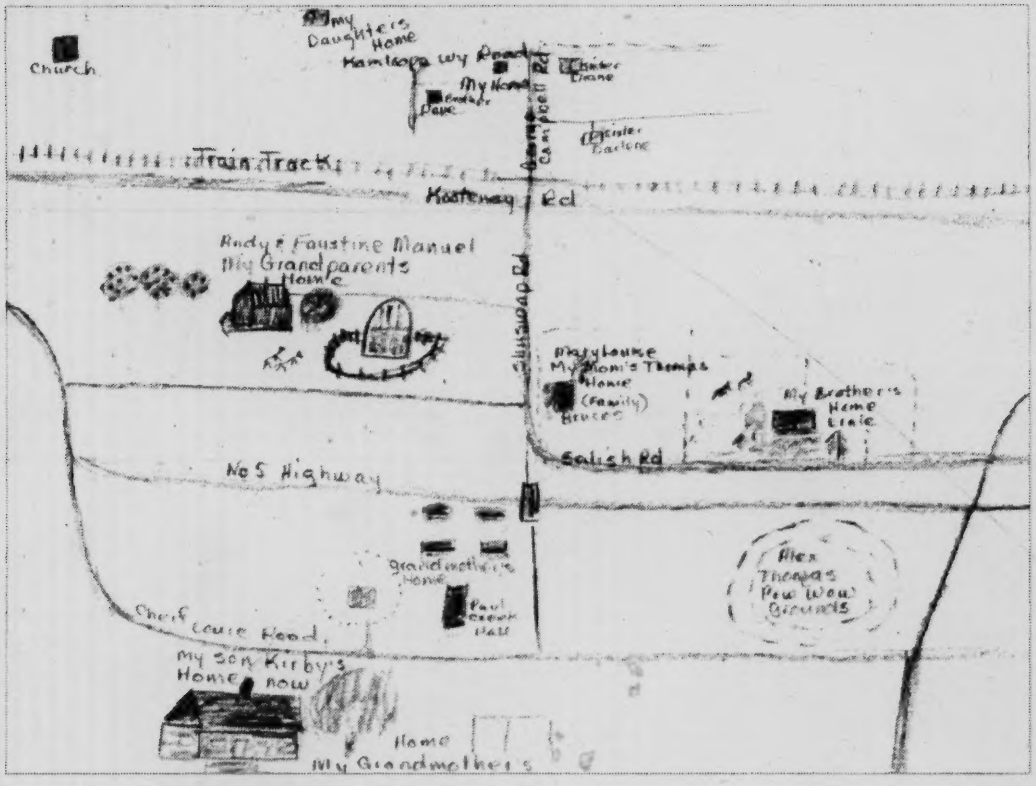

Figure 1. A Story Map (Garrett-Petts 2006, 150)

"Important features of the self are not enclosed within an introspective private self but is a lived experience grounded in the routines of everyday life—knowledge of self and knowledge of place develop together in the emplaced self" (146). While vernacular representations demonstrate the idiosyncrasies of the world that each person inhabits, because each person inhabits both public/social (inherited and imported ideologies, community values, and symbols) and private/personal (how these ideologies, values, and symbols are accommodated through lived experience) worlds (152), the maps also had the ability to highlight sociological themes common to people who share a landscape. Figure two is a map drawn by a nine year-old boy. It depicts not only the geographic and built structures in his environment, but also a world richly populated with wild animals

that play an important role in the boys life as primary sources of food for his family.

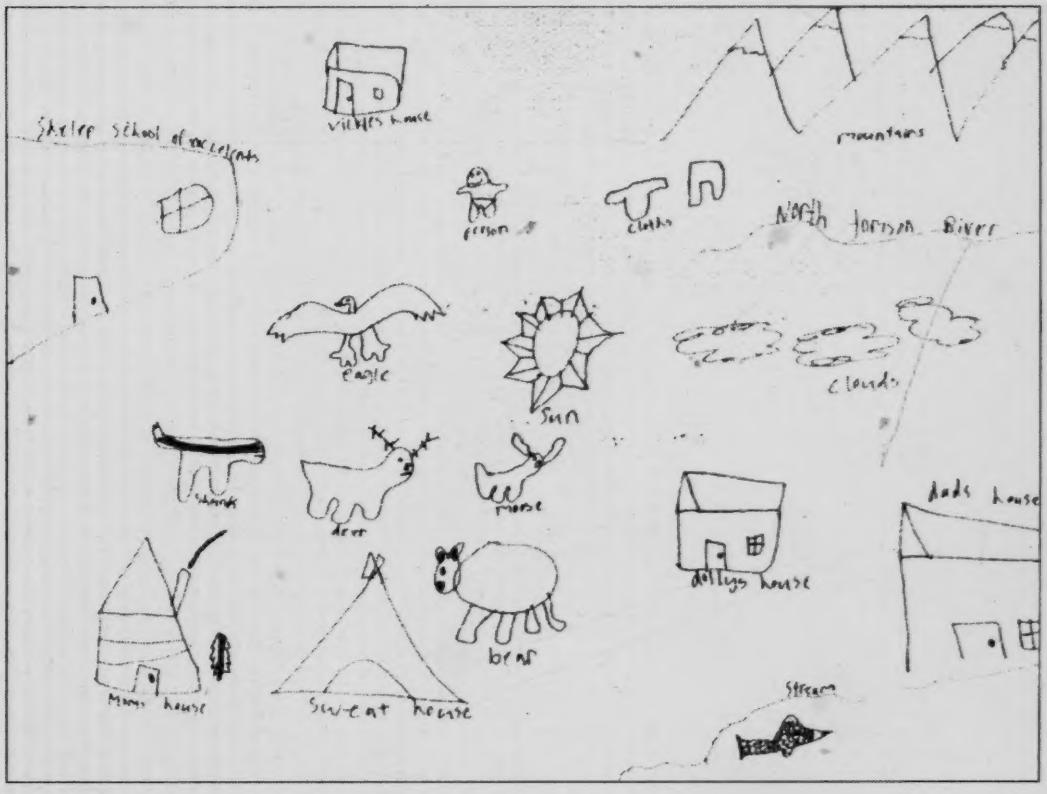

Figure 2. Story Map of a Nine Year-old Boy (Garret-Petts 2006, 155)

Professional cartographers have long pretended that the authority of the map was a function of its resemblance to the objective world, however a map is really a representation of the cartographer's knowledge about his or her own subjective world. To refer back to the story maps, Garret-Petts explains the difference between respondents' maps and official cartographies:

> The standpoints of scientific geographies are points in space. Consequently, while scientific maps reflect the specific purposes of those who produce them, they do not reveal – nor are they intended to reveal – personal emotions and

> understandings. In contrast, the vernacular landscapes of the story maps reveal the qualities of the person who produces them as much as they reveal the objective qualities of the spaces that person inhabits. Indeed, the respondents' maps generally represent attempts to negotiate personal space within the familiar visual forms of maps and other pictures: this negotiation manifests itself in an intriguing blend of vernacular and symbolic representational styles (148).

The power of the map, as with the power of any information, is derived from the authority the map steals from its maker, but social space is so tightly linked with physical space that most people do not distinguish between the two. As Peter Gould points out in his book, *Mental Maps*: "People's information about a particular area… may vary considerably and the mental images they build up may reflect not only their surroundings but many other aspects of themselves and their lives" (14). Gould illustrates with two studies that demonstrate varying degrees of geographic knowledge of different cities by locals who live there. The first involved a wide range of people of different socioeconomic groups who were questioned about their spatial knowledge of Los Angeles. The study showed that intensity and breadth of knowledge varied greatly with class and location - upper class, white respondents from Westwood, for example, had a rich and detailed knowledge of the entire expansive city, while the Spanish speaking residents of Boyle Heights, in contrast, knew only their immediate area, the City Hall, and the bus depot.

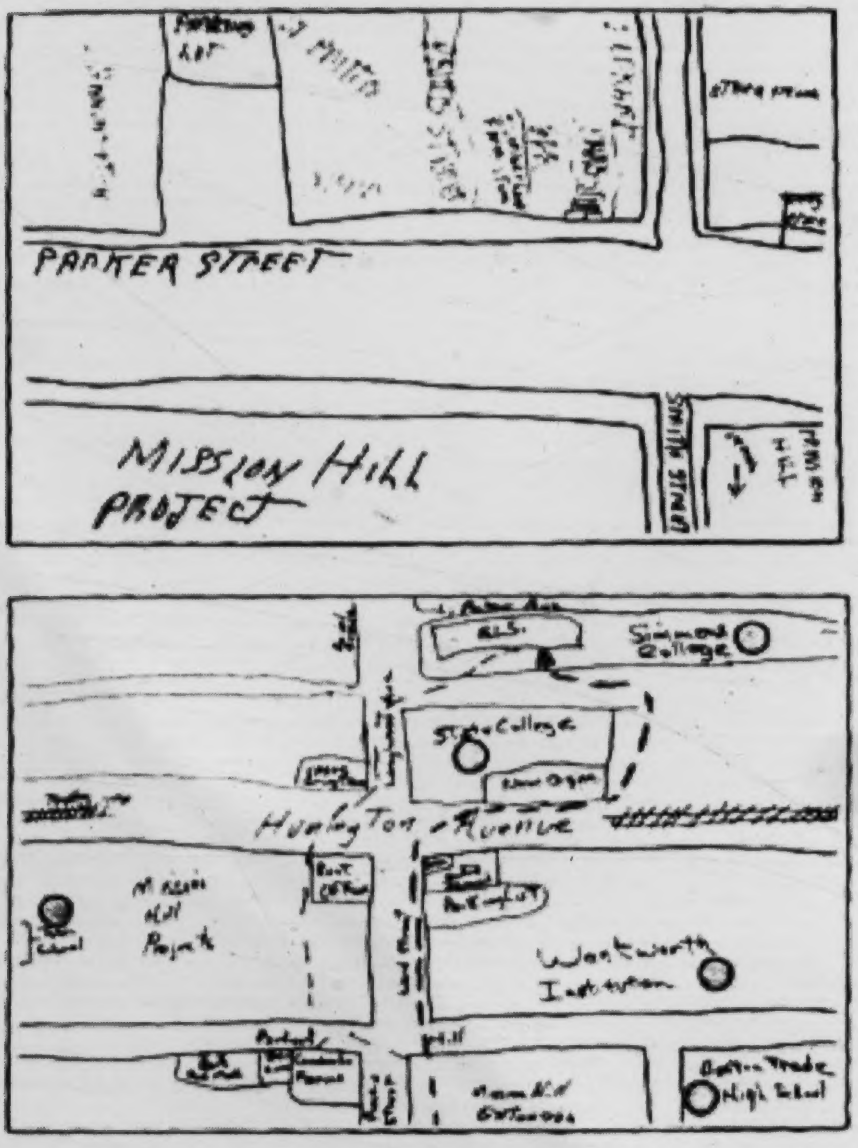

Figure 3. Two contrasting maps of the Mission Hill area of Boston (Gould 1986, 16)

In the second study, a number of black children were asked to draw a map of their area, two of which are shown in figure three, and were then asked about their maps in open-ended interviews. The top map in figure three used Parker Street as a barrier between the

known black neighbourhood and an unknown white Mission Hill development area. This child went to a local school and had never ventured across that street, and only felt at home in the limited area that he knew well: the width of the street in his drawing, about one quarter of the page, emphasizes the width of the street as a psychological barrier, and the significant role the unknown area played in his life. A boy from the same neighbourhood, but who went to a private school not located in the area, drew the bottom map and has a very different mental image of the same neighbourhood. Several educational institutions are identified, the white Mission Hill project barely features, and he demonstrates a wider view with evenly allocated information on his map. Both maps bear a resemblance to the objective world, but reflect the nuanced mental images that arise from locational and psychological biases.

Having recently read *The Small Cities Book*, story maps were very much in my mind when I went to MOMA in New York several months ago. It was near the end of the day, and while the gallery was close to closing, I wanted to quickly see the highlights. It was, of course, incredible – like walking through a spatialized art history textbook. After what seemed like rooms and rooms of Picasso, I came across an interesting and unassuming piece right next to the ladies room. While my friends walked right by, I couldn't step away from what looked like a crumpled up map on the wall. I have been back a number of times since, but I have never been able to find this work again, nor can I locate it on the museum's website, so I have produced my own re-creation to illustrate its likeness:

Figure 4. Crumpled Map

This is a map of Edmonton, which I'm sure the artist did not use, but it shows something valuable about how people conceptualize space. When I saw it in the gallery, I was struck by how much it resembled a geographic theory of mental and cognitive mapping systems. A crumpled up map is how people conceptualize place – mental maps aren't flat as one finds when they are in an atlas, they are uneven and scrunched together. Individuals subjectively develop these systems about their surroundings with varying levels of information and awareness, and the peaks and valleys of this map seem to graphically illustrate the unevenness and distortion of this knowledge. Just as one's world is defined through tangible experience, the knowledge of familiar places is even,

detailed, logical and fully comprehensible – shown on the map as flat and smooth areas. The creased, mountainous portions represent the irregular knowledge of partially or little known places - much like crumpling a page of text, a map is unreadable unless it is placed flat, so things like navigation and scale are duly distorted. In terms of mental mapping systems, the flat portions would be the cognitively important portions, so on my own childhood mental map, seen below, the only place that is flat is around the neighbourhood that I grew up in, because not only was nothing else known to me, it also was unimportant in the scale of my existence.

Figure 5. My Childhood Mental Map of Edmonton

After some inquiries, I discovered the artist of the MOMA map was Sol LeWitt, an important minimalist/conceptualist artist from New York. One of the key artists of the 1960's, LeWitt's work was a reaction to the psychological gestures of abstract expressionism in favour of art based on intellect and ideas: "When an artist uses a conceptual form of art, it means that all of the planning and decisions are made beforehand and the execution is a perfunctory affair. The idea becomes a machine that makes the art" (80).

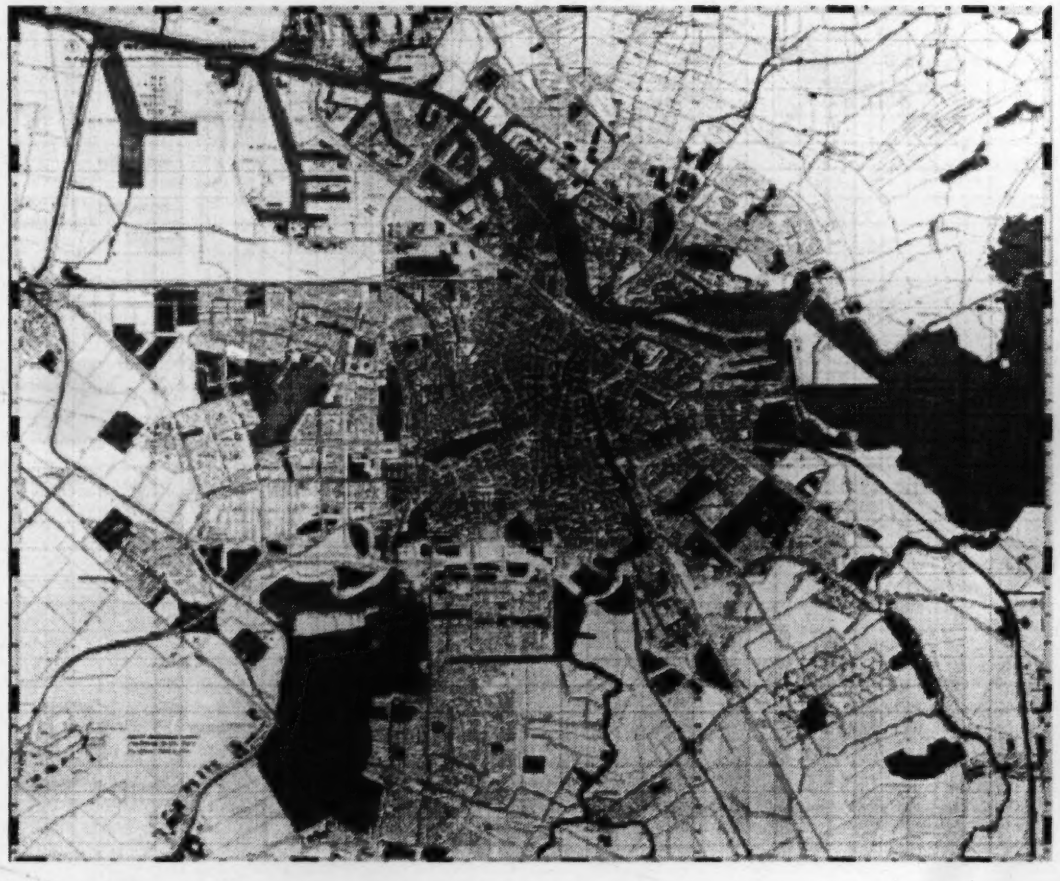

Figure 6. Sol Le Witt, 'Map of Amsterdam without the Amstel River', 1976, Collection Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam

It is very likely, therefore, that the crumpled MOMA map would have been based on an intellectual theory of mental mapping systems. LeWitt explores the conceptual power of maps in other works as well. Maps are evocative documents, and the shapes of places represented on maps become familiar visual cues. In figure six, Le Witt's modification of the aerial view of Amsterdam uses the power of cartographic familiarity to suggest that our visual images of the city may be common, but each of our singular views are inevitably distorted—an ideological theme shared with the crumpled map.

PART III. My Music and My Place

Place anchors life, giving a shape and intelligibility to the general. It is physically defined by and defines the ways people conceptualize the world (Wolf 2005, 102). Place structures the flows of human activity as both a centre of felt value and repository of enculturated meaning. It is through place that we learn who we are, how to think and behave (Carney 2003, 205). People internalize qualities of the place they are in and project them on the environment, creating the physical and social structures around them (Lawrence-Zúñiga and Low 2003, 14), so *where we are* is, in fact, very meaningful. In his discussion of the emplacement and embodiment of the Chayantaka, an indigenous people of highland Bolivia, Thomas Solomon articulates these ideas in a very tangible way:

> …it is important to point out that for the Chayantaka, a "community" (comunidad) is not just a settlement but also the people who live there as well as the fields and pastures around the settlement that belong to them. For Chayantaka, the people of a community, as a social body, are inseparable from the landscape where they live (2000, 259).

Growing up in Edmonton, I lived near the university in Windsor Park, a neighbourhood with tree-lined streets and well-kept homes. While net worth and income have now become the major determinants for moving into the neighbourhood, it was once called the "Faculty Compound" because of the large number of university professors living there. I hadn't heard this until recently, as by the eighties when I was growing up, my friends' parents were mostly doctors and lawyers, my mother being the notable professorial exception. We were close to the river valley and everything I needed was, for the most

part, a bike ride away. My landscape was drawn through the dense network of pathways that my bike could take me on. All my friends, my school, the Mac's convenience store, the tire swings, the flower park, my mother's office, creative dance class, and the Faculty Club defined the boundary of my world between what was 'close' and 'far'. Through these daily travels, I learned that most houses in Edmonton looked like my house and people generally looked like me and did the same things I did, so it also gave me a strong sense of inclusion and distinctiveness - 'us' and 'them' were differentiated by what I could bike to and what I had to drive to with my parents. For example, just as Parker Street acted as a major barrier in the Mission Hill area, 87th avenue is a major thoroughfare that runs through Windsor Park and because of the traffic, I was never allowed to cross it by myself. As a result, I never made friends with anyone who lived across the street and this aspect of the geographic landscape created a tangible social division within the neighbourhood; anyone who lived south of this was never considered one of 'us' by me or anyone else living in North Windsor.

Bordered on the north, west, and southwest by Saskatchewan Drive, which overlooks the North Saskatchewan River, Windsor Park is a somewhat isolated neighbourhood, with important amenities such as grocery stores and restaurants not accessible by foot or bike. While one of the significant benefits of the area is its central location and easy access to other parts of the city through major roadways, it functions very much like a suburb in its automobile dependency. This geographic and structural exclusion contributes to a notably exclusionary attitude that, while unnoticeable to me, can be quite remarkable to someone not from the community (or from South Windsor). As I grew older, increased

mobility changed the way I thought about scale and distance, but my ideas about social difference remained firmly intact until I moved away from home. Appadurai describes a place, such as the Windsor Park I have just depicted, as being both figure and ground in that it both serves as physical context (geographical and material place) and yet requires and produces social context (individuated meaning and sense of community):

> Neighborhoods are contexts in the sense that they provide the frame or setting within which various kinds of human action (productive, reproductive, interpretive, performative) can be initiated and conducted meaningfully… Insofar as neighborhoods are imagined, produced, and maintained against some sort of social ground (social, material, environmental), they also require and produce contexts against which their own intelligibility takes shape (184).

Geertz makes the same point in this way: "…it is still the case that no one lives in the world in general" (1996, 262). I have been lucky to have traveled and lived in a number of different places, but Windsor Park has forever coloured my interaction not just with other neighbourhoods, but also other parts of the world. My mother was a professor, so when she took a sabbatical or went to conferences I would often get to accompany her on trips to Australia, New Zealand, England, Wales, Scotland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. I have lived on Vancouver Island, in Montreal, and New York, and yet I feel inextricably linked to Alberta's landscape – more so for having spent time in other places. As she relates the musical memories of her childhood in Australia, Catherine Ellis describes how her parents' creation of home was expressed through the music of Scotland: "My parents had no need to speak about "home" in the presence of Scottish music – they were there" (7). Sharpened from spending time away, I

also have found that smells and colours and sounds create a strong evocation of home. Things like the sound of poplar leaves in the wind, or seeing vast fields of canola, the smell of snow mold in the spring, or a certain quality of sunlight that can only be found this far north all send me into nostalgic rapture.

Since moving to the United States a year ago, these absences have become particularly poignant to me, and I have begun to seek out music that evokes a tangible landscape of home. Songs like The Tragically Hip's "Wheat Kings," which names places, institutions and events across the Canadian prairies, and Corb Lund's "Hurtin' Albertan," in which a truck driver contrasts Alberta with the cultural "Others" he encounters on his travels, have become totemic identifiers for me. This phenomena is described by Solomon as he discusses how the Chayantaka give a physical presence to community identity by describing community landscapes and articulating local place names in song. This process both invokes the sensuous experience of place as a site of layered personal and collective meaning, and inscribes added importance and meaning to that locality. Song acts as a medium for embodying collective identity, but also for boundary formation, as when two or more Chayantaka musical groups encounter each other. The competition between each group serves to demark and reinforce *senses of place* through the musical evocation of their community, and the member's belonging to that place. Creation of locality and place is a contested process and one in which all humans actively, if not consciously, take part. Stokes points to how the materiality of sound (2000, 276) interacts with this process:

> The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary (1997a, 3).

This duality of musical practice constructs particular geographical and material 'places,' while endowing those places with both individuated meaning and a sense of community, serving to distinguish them from other places and communities. Music is an agent in both these processes through reflecting aspects of the locality in which it is created, while also helping to produce community by shaping the social, material, and symbolic forms of culture.

I have made my living for about seven years from professionally teaching and playing music. My connection with music extends back, as it does for many musicians, through traditional family practices and to some of my earliest memories. My very earliest memory, in fact, is of playing red claves in playschool. My mother's mother was a piano teacher and organist for a rural church in Western Alberta. When I was very young, I would stay on the farm with her and my grandfather where I would help drive the tractor, bake pies, and turn the pages for grandma at church. As the church organist, she was a very important person in the congregation, and it made me feel important to sit up at the front with her. On her old Heintzman piano, I had my first piano and singing lessons, learning "Little Brown Jug", and "Jesus Loves Me". A fondness of music was always reinforced in my home in Windsor Park – I clearly remember my father striding around

the house singing songs that he made up about himself, and my mother playing Chopin and Beethoven on the piano. I was religiously taken to the ballet and Symphony for Kids, as well as the opera from grade four on, but the point that I remember most intensely forging a relationship with music was in my older sister's car when I heard Madonna's "Like a Virgin."

At six years old, I had already taken a few years of piano lessons and dance classes, and had significant performance career under my belt from all my parents' parties where I would perform pieces that I made up or songs that I had heard on recordings. While I was clearly no musical novice, my sister's music was a unique intrusion into my sheltered life that had a lasting effect on not just my musical taste, but the way I presented myself in the world as well. My sister is able to articulate the performative aspect that music took on: "It was likely one of the first times that you were allowed to spend any time with me alone. That was when I had my Mazda and was really into Madonna. So we drove all over the place so I could show you off and rock your lil' world with the Material Girl!!!" In his introduction to *My Music*, Lipsitz comments on the intensity with which music contributes to this type of identity formation:

> As one would expect from any practice so laden with emotional investment and so central to the invention of one's own identity, the use of music inevitably becomes conflated for these individuals meaningful connection with others, how they monitor and remake themselves, how they remember the past, and how they dream of something better for the future (xii).

A major component of my connection with Madonna is the fact that I heard her as I was traversing a landscape between destinations - a combination of bringing something known with me into an unknown geography, but also the intensification of the listening experience that could only happen, for me, in the car. My mother has told me of a time in which cars did not have radios. This is not remarkable in and of itself, but in relation to how music is used, in geographical terms, it represents a crucial shift. As my mother was growing up, technology required that she arrive at a venue in order to have a musical experience, whereas in my childhood, the soundtrack of a journey to and from different points also represented an important participatory cultural event. This is not simply incidental music, or incidental culture - the car has become a central venue for cultural and identity formation *through* music. As foreign streets are traversed, the city is experienced and becomes known – incorporating areas that were once crumpled on our mental map into our own network of pathways. As we bring our own sacred musical artifacts on these journeys, driving is experienced through music and intensifies the inscription of meaning on the traversed landscape.

In "The Final Borderpost," Philip Bohlman also highlights the potential for music to perform, embody and inscribe alternative meanings on a landscape through the music of pilgrims. The movement through space of the pilgrims contests the traditional political and economic borders. Boundary areas created in the past and validated by hegemonic European history have come to act as current sites of resistance and unification. Bohlman sees the pilgrim's song as a means for transforming the places that it is performed as well as the body of the performer into a sacred space. In the body, the song

and the journey become inseparable. Pilgrimage sites draw people from all over Europe and around the world, so while these pilgrimages solidify the ties of an imagined community, they also represent the boundlessness of this community across ethnic, linguistic, racial and national lines. The fluidity and temporality of space and boundary within this context remain contested by nationalisms and modern political economies, but Bohlman seems optimistic about this movement:

> The pilgrim's song, like the pilgrim's way, results from the constant creation and negation of boundaries… The musical journey must mix and remix itself through the performance of music, relying on the capacity of repertories to respond to constantly shifting boundaries and the ways these mark the worlds through which the pilgrim's way ceaselessly passes (443).

Through these contested processes *place* is created and differentiated from *space*, and *locality* is produced.

The creation of these three geographical indices is contingent on those present: "*Space*… is 'actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it'… it is a 'practiced place'" (de Certeau [1984, 117] quoted in Erlmann 1996b, 98). We are surrounded by musical soundscapes that change how places feel and how we interact with them. Like Bohlman's description of landscape created through pilgrimage, space from this perspective is not geographically fixed but is instead a fluid and temporal construction created through the movement of bodies between places. *Places* are conversely defined as bounded physical and mental sites that "persist in time" (Wolf 2005, 77–78). In this

way, Casey suggests that place is made up of spaces that are only operative in their relation to place. The idea of *locality* is less bounded than place and mediates "enculturation and emplacement" through the "distinction between position, place, and region" (44). In Windsor Park, there are no common gathering points for community members, and we had to drive anywhere that wasn't reachable by foot or bike. The fluid boundary of our locality was defined by one's ability to move through it on foot, and all other destinations were, in a sense, points of pilgrimage. Every time we used the car, it simultaneously reaffirmed the destination's "otherness" and solidified our own sense of locality, while also enabling a breakdown of this boundary and a connection with the broader community. This movement alters our identity and the landscape that is passed through, transforming both inner and outer worlds, as new meanings are interpreted and new pathways embodied.

Since I went to school one block away from my home, and took piano lessons nearby, regular trips to the supermarket were the furthest I ever needed to travel for many years. Once I started playing the double bass, my landscape significantly opened up as we made weekly journeys downtown and to the north side of the city for lessons and rehearsals. The destinations of these musical pathways were spread across a vast, foreign expanse of city, and the drives traversed geographical, psychological, and social boundaries. For me, crossing the river was a boundary of particular importance. In New York, I have met long-time residents of Manhattan who have never crossed the river into Brooklyn or Queens; for them, the river represents an immense psychological barrier in the landscape. While I assume that most people in Edmonton have crossed the river, perhaps even

regularly, I have found that it does embody a tangible frontier for many people. For example, when I bought my own home, my father could not abide by my choice to live downtown, preferring that I live forty minutes south than ten minutes north across the river.

While every neighbourhood is not like Windsor Park in its relative isolation, Edmonton is a city that has been shaped by automobile dependence. The density of the city is closer to that of a small town than a metropolis of over one million people, requiring residents to make divergent auto pilgrimages for both daily amenities and cultural events. Figure seven portrays my far-reaching musical pathways in Edmonton, demonstrating the limited opportunity for meaningful intersection and interaction on many of these journeys. The points on the map represent places that I have had sustained and repeating performance, teaching, or rehearsal experiences, at venues that range from schools and churches to theatres and performance halls.

Figure 7. My Musical Pathways in Edmonton

I initially intended that this map demonstrate two things: the scattered nature of musical life in Edmonton, and the diverse type of venues and organizations that could possibly be connected through the pathways that comprised this life. For instance, does West End Christian Reform Church realize that they have shared interests with King Edward School and The Jubilee Auditorium? However, the figure also shows more and raises other questions. The river appears as a severe visual partition on the map, and I have discussed how it also functions as a psychological barrier in many ways, but the frequent crossings that are displayed by my musical pathways call into question the tangible gravity of this division. With ten bridges servicing the city, crossing the river should never be a problem, so why does this physical feature create such an entrenched mental obstruction? While there is a dense cluster of venues in the centre of the city, most are far-flung points on the map. Nonetheless, close or far, the fact remains that all the locations are still accessed, and the pathways between them traversed, by automobile. Why is it the case that proximity seems to make very little difference to Edmontonians' travel mentality?

Car travel between both far and near points is a naturalized practice for Edmontonians, leaving very little opportunity for chance interactions, and these types of pathways were put into question when I arrived in Montreal and experienced a city that was much older, denser, more compact and complex.

When I spent a year studying in Montreal, I lived in a decrepit apartment. So much so, that when I first went to meet the landlord, I walked right by the front door three times

because I couldn't believe that this awful address was the place I was going to live. Next to a vacant, garbage-strewn lot, it was covered in graffiti and looked ready to crumble. A third floor walk-up in an ancient building that sat above a laundromat and a hairdresser, there was none of the charm of many buildings on the street, having been covered in vinyl siding and painted in second-hand paint. There were communities of mice living in the walls, the roof leaked rusty water over my bed, and when something fell on the floor, it would roll from one side of a room to the other because of the severe slant of the foundation. It was nothing like the inspired first apartments I had read about in "Martha Stewart" and "Better Homes and Gardens." It was completely different from where I grew up, but, nested in an area imbued with dramatically rich social and cultural activity, it turned out to be an amazing find and a fantastic place to live. Located in the Plateau area of Montreal, our decaying home was close to the best boutique shopping, the most diverse and concentrated live music scene, the liveliest parks, both the most alternative and best-established galleries, as well as hallmark educational, research, and cultural institutions. It was a nexus of intellectual, creative, and commercial activity that not only made the mice in our walls unimportant, but also transformed our seemingly undesirable two-bedroom into a porous membrane, through which music and culture collected and flowed.

Richard Florida, a social and economic theorist, discusses the connectivity and "knowledge spillovers" that occur in areas like the Plateau, pointing out that rather than a "mosaic composed of isolated pieces," as might happen in a city with less density, "Montréal offers a rich and original set of interconnections" (Florida et al. 2005, 16).

Creative and knowledge industries and institutions play an important economic and social role in the dynamic makeup of the city, and thus invention, creation, and emerging talent are highly valued and cultivated. The rich history of Montreal has helped it build a tolerant and diverse society, factors that play an important role in attracting and retaining creative talent. People in creative professions generally value a place that is tolerant of new ways of thinking, and a diverse population is more likely to attract artists and thinkers with an assorted variety of skills and ideas. This combination has resulted in a place with a lively mix of creative people and greater possibility for innovative collaborations and interfaces among multiple disciplines. Florida comments on this dense connectivity, and Montreal's role as a leading creative centre in North America:

> Human creativity has become the main driver of economic and social growth. Montréal has a strong creative economy, and its creative workers are highly interconnected, in part because of the city's concentrated population density and the diversity of its people and industries… While boasting a diverse mosaic of people and cultures offers some advantage, Montréal derives still greater advantage from the interconnected nature of that mosaic. Rather than a whole composed of isolated pieces, Montréal offers a rich multicultural tapestry whose individual threads, when woven together, create something greater than the sum of its parts (16).

Montreal's positive link between innovative activity, population density and its diverse creative sector generates conditions under which productive interactions between individuals are more likely to occur. Learning and the transmission of knowledge that precedes innovation is geographically emplaced, as the enabling feature of these

"knowledge spillovers" is the combination social capital, skills, expertise, or creative capabilities, and the interactions amongst the individuals possessing these attributes. Spatial proximity and density facilitate the encounters that create these individual connections: "In many cases, these effortless transmissions of ideas and values depend on sight or hearing ... Obviously, the ability to see or hear depreciates sharply with space" (Florida and Stolarick 2006, 2). Density and diversity compress people in creative and knowledge industries into a space where their pathways necessarily cross and important interactions and spillovers can take place.

I witnessed the outcomes of these relationships every day during my time in Montreal. McGill would partner with local clubs for the performance exams of students studying jazz; a shoe store would house an art opening hosted by a live DJ with food and alcohol sponsored by Smirnoff; Hydro-Quebec would promote a week-long street celebration replete with acrobats, live music, ice sculptures, and nightly fireworks. Unique synergies were occurring everywhere because the high density of people and creative talent in Montreal facilitated the frequent crossing of individual pathways and the frequent confrontation of diverse ideas. There was intensity to the interaction of social capital that imbued events, places, landscape and people with creative connectivity. The symbolic and physical linkages paired in the creation of this vibrant cultural network: Meaningful locality is socially and materially produced as a practical context for social activity, and through such activity places are also produced as concepts or symbols. In other words, a physical location, like the Plateau, takes on character and conceptual structure from its natural, built, and social environment, while providing structure for all the human activity

that takes place within it. Likewise, the features of the urban landscape uniquely shape the cultural outlooks of Montreal residents involved in the creative flows of the city. The physical pathways of individuals generate and are generated by conceptual cultural networks – the density of these networks is what characterizes an urban outlook as opposed to one of a small-town. Individuals and groups are suspended in these concrete and symbolic webs, both representing a negotiation of structure on different levels. From this individual and collective negotiation implicitly emerges a collective culture that is necessarily unique to a locality. To return to Geertz:

> The concept of culture I espouse…is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (5).

The cultural landscape I grew up in, while rich in its own way, could only be seen with clarity after having experienced the historic, diverse, and dense landscape of Montreal. Only through this contrasting culture could I begin to search for meaning in my own situated web of significance within the stories that Edmonton tells about itself.

PART IV. Knowing Edmonton[1]

I have shared my own story of Edmonton, although this engagement with the world I have described is, "…intertwined in a dense thicket of alternative narratives in which knowledge, memory, emotion, and practice are simply inseparable" (Fox 2004, 62). In order to give an orienting perspective, I intend to present the empirical and more conventionally objective story that Edmonton tells the world about itself. This is to facilitate the grounding of my own knowledge and memories, but also to contrast the simultaneous material and meaningful character of a place in which competing narratives have a complex investment.

Allen Scott suggests that it is through the circulation of cultural discourse that cities are branding themselves, having both a positive economic impact by differentiating their products from those produced in other centres, and also intensifying local identification with that community brand. This idea of branding *global cities* (Stokes 2004, 16) through cultural politics and identity is, he feels, a site that cultural expression has created and intensified through capitalism and global economies. While many argue that globalization and commodified culture is invading, diluting, and homogenizing traditional cultures, Scott suggests that through the above process, local identity can be and is also being intensified. While this neoliberal argument glosses over the hegemonic dynamics of this type of place making, the idea of place remains essential, perhaps more so than before. Within this context, Geertz advises that, "[t]he ethnography of place is, if

[1] Statistical and historical data was primarily derived from The Canadian Encyclopedia entries on Alberta and Edmonton, and the Wikipedia Encyclopedia entry on Edmonton (March 2007).

anything, more critical for those who are apt to imagine that all places are alike than for those who, listening to forests or experiencing stones, know better" (1996, 262).

Within this context of competing of local identities, how, then, is Edmonton developing and asserting its brand? What are the stories that Edmonton is choosing to tell the world about itself through its civic promotional discourse? According to the city's mayor, Stephen Mandel:

> The City of Edmonton has boldly emerged as a true leader at the front of Alberta's second century – a confident capital with a certain and clear view of our position on the world stage, and a city where everyone has an opportunity to take part in our growth and prosperity… Our character, our creativity, an occasional irreverence, a stubborn individuality, these are things that our arts community adds to Edmonton. Our investment is rewarded with incredible community participation that grows every year. And it's seen a growing national and international profile (Mandel 2006).

Edmonton is Alberta's capital and is located in the central region of the province, roughly 500 km north of the Canadian-American border. It is the northernmost major city in North America, and is at the same latitude as Hamburg, Germany and Liverpool, England. It is the second largest city in Alberta, with a population of 730,372, and is the core of the country's sixth largest Census Metropolitan Area, with a metropolitan population of 1,034,945 that includes thirty-five independent municipalities either adjacent to Edmonton's city limits or within several kilometres of it. Edmonton covers an area larger than Chicago, Philadelphia, Toronto or Montreal, yet has one of the lowest

population densities in North America, at about 9.4% that of New York City. Incorporated as a city in 1904 with a population of 8,350, Edmonton became the capital of Alberta a year later on September 1, 1905. A relatively young city, in 2004 Edmonton celebrated the centennial of its incorporation.

In the eighteenth century, the Hudson's Bay Company established the area's earliest European settlements mainly to seek contact with the aboriginal population for the purpose of establishing fur trade. During the nineteenth century, settlers were attracted to the area by the highly fertile soils, some of the most fertile of the prairies, further establishing Edmonton as a major regional commercial and agricultural centre. Edmonton was also a major stopping point for people hoping to cash in on the Klondike Gold Rush in 1897, and still remains an important hub for Northern communities. Edmonton's early settlers were predominantly western European and the city's ethnic makeup still remains largely of European descent with people of British, German, Ukrainian, and Polish forming the largest groups. Most migration to Edmonton is from other parts of the country, but recent immigration from non-European countries, most notably from East and South Asia, is dynamically changing the cultural landscape of the city. In 2001, 19.8% of Edmonton's residents belonged to a visible minority, and a further 4.8% were of Aboriginal descent, one of the highest concentrations of First Nations people in Canada.

Edmonton is the major economic centre for northern and central Alberta and the staging point for large-scale oilsands projects occurring in northern Alberta and large-scale

diamond mining operations in the Northwest Territories. Commonly known as the "Gateway to the North," it is strategically situated on an economic divide between the highly productive farmlands of central Alberta and a vast, resource-rich northern hinterland. The economic prosperity triggered by booming oil prices is bringing in large numbers of workers from across Canada. It is forecast that 83 000 new residents will move to Edmonton between 2006 and 2010, twice the rate that city planners had expected. Many of the new workers moving to the city are young men, a fact that will undoubtedly contribute to changes in Edmonton's musical and cultural spaces.

Alberta's economy has followed a pattern of primary resource exploitation and dependence on external markets, with prices and revenues largely determined by outside economic and political forces. This pattern was established with the fur trade of the eighteenth century and continued in the nineteenth century with ranching and then grain growing. Agriculture remained the dominant economic activity until the discovery of oil in the Leduc field, just south of Edmonton, in 1947 and has since been surpassed in net product value by mining and manufacturing as well. While oil production and refining remains the basis of many jobs in Edmonton, the city's economy has managed to expand significantly, and according to Edmonton Economic Outlook is becoming the second most diverse in Canada. Even with these developments, Edmonton's industrial base remains heavily dependent on natural resources and the needs of resource-based industries, though Edmonton firms have become prominent in a variety of fields, including construction, engineering services, electricity generation, banking and retailing.

While Edmonton was becoming a strong economic centre in the 1980s, the oil boom of

the 1970s and 1980s ended abruptly with the sharp decline in both oil and grain prices on the international market and introduction of the National Energy Program in 1981. Although the National Energy Program was later scrapped by the federal government in the mid-1980s, the collapse of world oil prices in 1986 and massive government cutbacks kept the city from making a full economic recovery until the late 1990s. The city entered its current period of economic recovery and prosperity by the late 1990s, helped by a strong recovery in oil prices and further economic diversification, although the effects of this period can still be seen on Edmonton's landscape and identity.

Currently, major industrial sectors include a strong information technology sector and the associated biotech sector, and have been vital to the restructuring of Edmonton's economy. Much of the growth in technology sectors is due to Edmonton's reputation as one of Canada's premiere research and education centres. Edmonton has become one of Canada's major educational centres with more than 60 000 full time, and as many as 170 000 part time post-secondary students spread across several institutions and campuses. The University of Alberta, established in 1908, hosts 35,000 students that are served by more than 200 undergraduate programs and 170 graduate programs. Edmonton's other major post-secondary institution is Grant MacEwan College, which enrolls 40 791 students in programs offering career diplomas, university transfers and, more recently, bachelor degrees.

In the complex identity formation of a city that grew out of the fur trade, and has prospered on oil and agriculture, Edmonton struggles to maintain a balance between this

heritage, and the cosmopolitan identity it is trying to foster by situating itself not only as educational Mecca, but also a cultural capital. While being extremely invested in its cultural accomplishments, Edmonton also suffers from a certain parochialism and marginality:

> Cultural life in Alberta has had to combat two major negative forces: the persistence of a "frontier ethos" that emphasizes economic materialism and rugged individualism, and a cultural dependency on external metropolitan centres such as New York, London, Toronto and Los Angeles. Yet it has had advantages: a rich physical landscape that has influenced both painters and writers; a diverse population that perpetuates various ethnic cultures; plus periodic governmental, corporate and private affluence, which has benefited the cultural sector (Stamp 2007).

As Mandel points out, this fringe perspective and "stubborn individuality" have significantly contributed to a unique arts community with thriving theatre, festival, and music scenes. Edmonton's remote locale and relatively small arts community (only 3% of the population by 2001 census data) pushes artists, patrons, and cultural workers together into surprisingly close networks of support and affiliation that have produced a diverse and creative landscape. Numerous small and large theatre companies are housed throughout the city, contributing to a theatre scene that is unparalleled in Canada and as old as the city itself, as well as a year-round calendar of festivals of local, national, and international prestige.

Many cultural events in Edmonton are anchored in the downtown "Arts District," centred on the newly renovated Churchill Square. The arts have been an active component in the revitalization of Edmonton's downtown core, a pattern than can be seen in many other North American and European cities (Brown, Cohen, and O'Connor, 2000; Stern and Seifert, 2002; Cohen, 2005). Cohen relates this development to Scott's idea of branding *global cities* (Scott 1997):

> Shifts in the global economy have forced Liverpool and other post-industrial cities in Europe and North America to focus on the development of new economies based around the arts and cultural industries. Local cultural heritage has thus been increasingly emphasized in response to recent forces of globalization. It has been used as a focus for the revival of decaying city centres, and to promote new and positive city images that professionally package cities as different in order to enable them to compete with each other for visitors, private investment, and public funds (2005, 41).

As is typical of Edmonton's urbanization during periods of economic growth, many inner-city buildings were demolished to make way for office towers during the oil boom starting in the 1960s. With the region's economic downturn in the 1980s, many of these buildings were left vacant as businesses downsized, moved, or failed, leaving the area with little commercial and economic base. The Business Revitalization Zone for Downtown Edmonton was formed in 1985 in order to attract businesses, consumers, and residents back into the city, and the later formation of the downtown Arts District was a product of this plan. The district is comprised of six cultural facilities that attract over 1.7 million visitors annually, and a further 1.5 million people are estimated to attend the

festivals held throughout the year in this area. John Mahon, the Executive Director of the Edmonton Arts Council highlights the purpose of this initiative: "The urban renewal project was designed to interlink the vital arteries of time and history, people and community, and place and environment to create a successful and integrated urban space for social and cultural celebration" (Mahon 2004). To facilitate this "interlinking", the city and the province have given much financial and political support to the district which includes the Citadel Theatre, one of the largest theatre complexes in Canada; Sir Winston Churchill Square, an international festival site, community gathering place, and urban park; the Art Gallery of Alberta, housing a large collection of regional, national, and international works; Edmonton's City Hall, a gathering place for politics, commerce and community celebrations; the Stanley A. Milner Library, the city's largest public library; and the Francis Winspear Centre for Music, one of North America's finest performing facilities.

The Winspear Centre, which opened in 1997, houses one of Edmonton's most established cultural organizations, the Edmonton Symphony Society. Along with the Edmonton Opera Association and the Citadel Theatre, it is one the largest performing arts organizations in Canada, the most visible elements in Edmonton's arts community. Like the theatre scene, there has been a symphony orchestra in Edmonton almost since its incorporation. The first performance of an incarnation of the "Edmonton Symphony Orchestra" occurred in 1920, and with the establishment of the new Edmonton Symphony Society in 1952, the orchestra became the professional organization that it is today. While the administrative offices of the Edmonton Opera Association are also housed in the Winspear Centre, the opera company, along with Alberta Ballet, performs

in the much larger Northern Alberta Jubilee Auditorium, located on the south side of the river, near the University.

Edmonton is Canada's sixth-largest city, is known as the "Festival City," boasting twenty-two annual cultural festivals, is home to North America's largest mall and Canada's largest historic park, possesses the country's fastest growing economy (Mandel), is Alberta's capital, the country's "Gateway to the North," and was recently named a 2007 Cultural Capital of Canada. Despite all these attributes, the city has an ambiguous self-image deeply affected by its isolated location and deferential economic and political relationship with Calgary. As Maclean Kay pointed out in his Calgary Herald Blog, "Edmonton is a big small city, whereas Calgary is a small big city": With Calgary as the corporate and financial centre of Alberta, it is the province's "big city," while Edmonton has fostered the mentality of a smaller, poorer, blue-collar city – one of the characteristics that Mandel has hoped to overcome. In his discussion of city branding in Kamloops, Will Garrett-Petts points to an outlook that has been equally pervasive in Edmonton: "If not by definition, then certainly by default, "culture" is associated with big-city life: big cities are equated with "big culture"; small cities with something less" (1). However, one thing that Edmonton does pride itself on is a high rate of volunteerism and a tightly integrated system of community support, which provides the soft-infrastructure for sustainable cultural initiatives (Brown, O'Connor, and Cohen 2000, 9). In contrast to Garrett-Petts assertion, the very type of dense community network that is required to support a vibrant cultural scene is closely associated with smaller communities:

> Two familiar paradigms for understanding the place of music (or any regular set of practices) in urban life will immediately occur not just to the academic analysts but also to most people involved in urban life. First, the idea of the city as a large and heterogeneous arena inimical to personal control or warmth; and second, that of 'community', in which people are bound by numerous ties, know each other, and have some consciousness of personal involvement in the locality of which they feel part (Finnegan 1989, 299).

Contrary to the obstacles created by the sprawling geography and the inherent automobile dependency of the city, if numerous personal ties do in fact, bind culture in Edmonton, what some have described as the "small-town" mentality that has long characterized the city is an important contributing factor to its cultural sustainability. With the intention of both challenging the hegemonic trope that has just been presented, and illustrating further paths of sustainable cultural development I created the study that follows. In it, I will explore more of Edmonton's individual narratives and pathways to examine the level of integration and connectedness of the city's musical institutions.

PART V. An Exploratory Visual Study of Edmonton's Musical Networks

Sociometrists study the structures of human groups and the networks of relations that are produced on both an individual and group level, ranging from personal relationships to entire world systems. They study webs of significance, and view society not as an aggregate of individuals or discreet cultural units, but rather a structure of interpersonal or organizational relations. According to this perspective, the individual is not the most basic unit of analysis—a social or cultural unit consists of an individual *and* the social, economic, and cultural webs of significance that person has created around themselves. The primary goal of this type of social network study is to explore, detect, and interpret how these units come together to create meaningful patterns of connection. Sociometry, then, is precisely the type of interpretive science that Geertz refers to in his prescription for the analysis of culture.

While my own observations were enough to indicate that Montreal was made up of densely connected cultural networks, I had seen little to suggest that a similar situation existed in Edmonton. From the pathways I had traveled as a musician, I was well aware that such connections did exist on a personal level, although rarely on an institutional one. However, the fact that I was the glue between disparate musical institutions and venues lacked any compelling generalizability, so I created a provisional study that incorporated other cultural units as a means to broaden my perspective and locate points where several musical pathways intersected.

I surveyed a number of students from the University of Alberta and Grant MacEwan music programs, to find out which musical events in Edmonton they had attended or performed in were most significant to them. I was interested in examining how relatively important different local musical venues were to these Edmonton residents; what types of patronage patterns emerged; and how closely these venues were located geographically. Did their participation at a variety of venues indicate that Edmonton has a strong "cultural quarter" where musical institutions and infrastructure are densely clustered, as is suggested by the city's promotional literature, or was this not, in fact, the case?

The participants in my survey were largely homogeneous as they were members of my own academic musical community. This was not, by any means, meant to reflect a general population, but rather to create a polyphony of emplaced tropes and lend a multivocality to my own grounded narrative. Included was a range of first year undergraduate and diploma students to graduate students, between ages 18 and 29, with a relatively even distribution of gender. Each student had been enrolled in either a two or four-year program of study on an instrument at one of the schools, actively performed, either professionally or non-professionally, and attended concerts regularly. The two schools have contrasting musical emphases: Grant MacEwan offers a diploma program with a focus on jazz, blues, rock, and pop performance while the University of Alberta offers undergraduate and graduate degrees that focus mainly on classical music performance and liberal arts education. Both institutions mostly service a provincial/regional demographic with their undergraduate programs, so the participants

had largely grown up in or around Edmonton and were familiar with the cultural discourse of the city.

I did gather data regarding age, gender, and level of education, as well as the occupation of parents and high school attended in order to gain some further information about general socioeconomic background in relation to musical taste. I had chosen to engage with this community because of their demonstrated interest in music, their positions as both performers and audience members, as well as my ease of accessibility to the groups. I had not anticipated that the majority of the participants would be situated so similarly to myself, but these results confirmed that I was dealing with relatively homogeneous population, with similar backgrounds to my own. After having participants complete general surveys, I followed up with unstructured individual interviews to expand upon their significant musical experiences and explore the role of music in their daily life.

In the questionnaire, I asked the students to list their five most significant local musical events, and rate each in importance from one to five. I then asked when and where each of these events took place, producing data that was plotted onto the network shown in figure eight. I asked about specific events rather than ongoing musical experiences or patterns of attendance/consumption/participation because I sought discreet, quantifiable data and I felt that significant events might also be indicators of what venues the respondents went to more generally. In a follow-up interview, this generalizability was endorsed:

> If the event features a unique experience that will likely never be duplicated, such as a unique set of musicians or a rare piece in the classical canon, I will most definitely make it a priority to attend. If the event does not meet these criteria it's very unlikely that it will become a priority to attend. I don't feel that a venue is particularly important, but the act is – so I wouldn't really say I have a regular venue that I attend. (Male, 26)

I neither specified that the event be considered "live music", nor that it take place in a public space, but I think the connotation of "performance" and denotation of "attendance" both implied a public event, and the fact that the population specialized in performing live music oriented their answers towards live musical performance. Despite their active involvement in musical performance, and an arguably higher than average attendance of musical events, the most important space for musical consumption remained a private one, as this respondent indicated:

> Music has always been paramount in my everyday life. I definitely developed an interest early on in life due to either listening to my father perform or by listening to his record collection. My occupation is now completely centred on teaching and performing music. By far the bulk of music I listen to, though, is through the radio or recorded mediums. I play it at virtually all times while being idle or commuting. This can include compact discs, cassettes, mp3 players or satellite radio. I will often bring a portable music player with me and listen to it if I am alone. (Male, 28)

In retrospect, I did not intend to exclude mediated music, but did intend to exclude private space because of my focus on "venues", and might have thus been clearer in

defining "musical event". This respondent's reference to the essential role of music in commuting highlights that cars are, in fact, important musical venues. However, their dual nature as private and public spaces, as well as their function as a mode of transportation made them impossible to include in this type of network study, which focused, instead, on connections between institutions.

To obtain a sense of the musical landscape that had evolved for these students through their pathways of musical engagement, in Figure eight I developed a diagram to illustrate the gathered information. The nodes of the network represent musical venues, their size and the number listed beside them indicates how many significant events occurred there for this population, and the colour denotes the relative importance of the place according to people's ratings. To formulate these results, I added together the scores that respondents had rated each of the events that took place at a given venue, as shown in table one. For example, respondents indicated that twenty-two significant events occurred at the Winspear Centre and their collective importance to the group was greater than eighty; both the Blind Pig Pub and the Sidetrack Café were identified as having one significant event occur at them, but the importance of the event at the Sidetrack Café was of more relative significance than the one at the Blind Pig Pub.

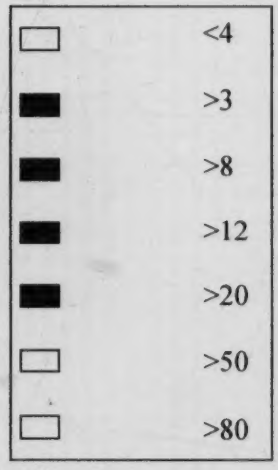

Table 1. Results ranging from least important (top) to most important (bottom)

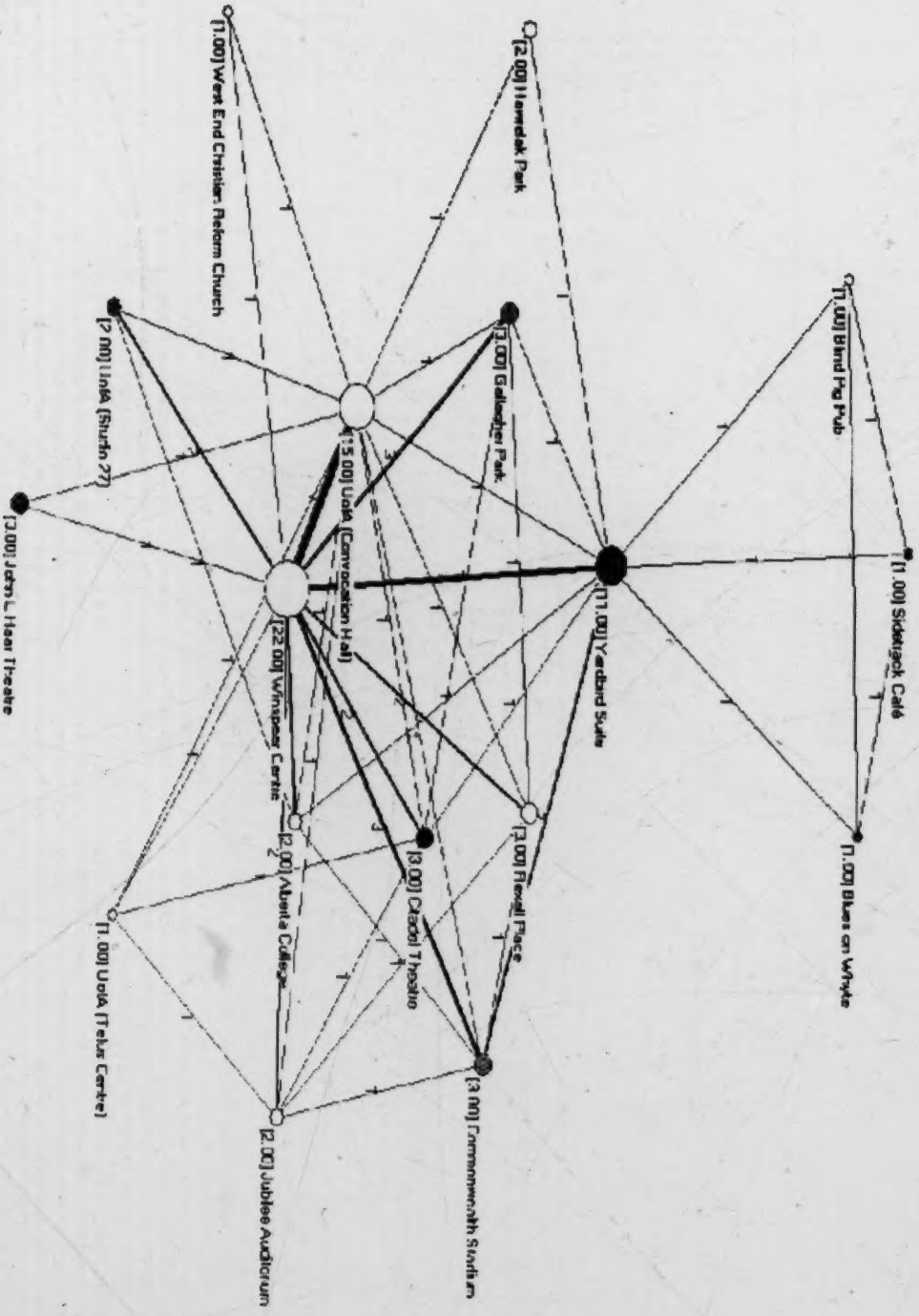

Figure 8. Social Network Diagram

The thickness of the edge joining two nodes and the number beside it shows how many people listed significant events at both those venues, or had these two venues in common. For example, one person listed events at both Gallagher Park and the Yardbird Suite, while three people listed events at both Gallagher Park and the Winspear Centre. The position of each node in the overall field represents both the relative importance of a venue, and its level of connectedness to other venues, indicating the centrality (but not necessarily the importance) of a venue in the musical scene or milieu of this population.

It should be noted that some of the venues are specific to the institutional position of the respondents. For example, Convocation Hall, which showed up as a relatively central node, is an important performance venue for University of Alberta music students, but held little significance for most Grant MacEwan students. Conversely, John L. Haar Theatre is a Grant MacEwan facility that had little import for University of Alberta students. These two locations arguably hold relatively little significance outside these specialist communities. While I did not hypothesize what venues would be significant, the results were not unexpected - many of the important points in this collective landscape were ones that also featured in my own personal web of significance. The population of people surveyed already forms a closely integrated network, of which I am a part, based on their interest in certain types of music, involvement in a small community of performers and connoisseurs. Despite this fact, some venues, such as the Blind Pig Pub (a small pub and grill that hosts live rock/cover bands, top 40 DJs, and karaoke), surprised me by their appearance, while others, such as Rexall Place (a 13,000-seat venue that hosts prominent international artists) were surprising in their lack of

relative significance. This points to the importance of grounded research in determining what defines a musical scene and the grassroots social capital that is invested in a venue. While figure eight represents, in many respects, an expansion and deepening of my own personal pathways, it is clear that one viewpoint, either grounded or institutionalized, cannot effectively embody the multivocality that is present in any community, regardless how homogenous it might be.

This may seem an obvious statement, but is vital when considering the health of a community's life. In a preface to *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs links the sustainability of natural ecosystems to human ecosystems through the acknowledgement of this diversity:

> In both cases, the diversity develops organically over time, and the varied components are interdependent in complex ways. The more niches for diversity of life and livelihoods in either kind of ecosystem, the greater its carrying capacity for life. In both types of ecosystems, many small and obscure components --easily overlooked by superficial observation -- can be vital to the whole, far out of proportion to their own tininess of scale or aggregate quantities (2).

Both the diversity and strength of connections in a social network play an important role in the health of individuals (Seeman, 1996), and by extension, communities, through social support, influence and innovation, person-to-person contact, and shared access to resources and material goods. These strong links are fundamental in Tonnies' characterization of *Gemeinschaft,* which is represented in the thematic focus on the interconnectivity of family and functional, healthy communities. Social order in this type

of community is based upon grounded discourse: a, "…consensus of wills—rests on harmony and is developed and ennobled by folkways, mores, and religion" (224). Family life is the foundation of life in the *Gemeinschaft*, exemplified in the integrated relationships found in village and town life. The village community and the town themselves can, in fact, be considered as large families, the various clans and houses representing the elementary elements of its body (224). Like the organs of the body, both diversity and interdependence are required for effective functioning. The networks that are formed through these relationships facilitate individual "contact," a concept that Jacobs describes as being necessary in fostering community stability, safety, and social well-being, while also physically mapping onto a locality. The "musical pathways" (Finnegan 1989) formed by these networks are created by individuals following a series of intersecting and overlapping routes that dynamically interact with established musical traditions and practices.

The sociometric survey I undertook begins to represent a conceptualization of the pathways and construction of musical space at a first level beyond the individual and personal. As Finnegan points out, these routes are not just created individually; they are familiar paths, "…shared with others in a predictable yet personal fashion. They are… settings in which relationships could be forged, interests shared, and a continuity of meaning and achieved in the context of urban living" (306). Florida described how both the high density and diversity of Montreal generates a fundamental circumstance for the knowledge spillovers that take place there, citing these face to face encounters as a requisite for creative innovation. While it is clear that the venues in my study are linked

through human participation and culturally embedded pathways, the density of the physical pathways taken between such locations calls into question the possibility of such spillovers taking place in Edmonton.

To illustrate more clearly the physical geography of these pathways and to examine the density and clustering of musical venues, I placed these venues on the map pictured in figure nine. As I have already pointed out, the range of participation closely resembles my personal network of musical pathways as displayed in figure seven, with venues spread far around the city, on both sides of the river, and most points lacking strong connections with each other.

Edmonton promotes the area around Churchill Square as the city's "Arts District" because three major cultural facilities, the Francis Winspear Centre for Music, the Citadel Theatre, and the Art Gallery of Alberta, are located there. The importance of the Winspear Centre as an important node of cultural activity is consistent with my own experience and that of those that I surveyed, but it is important to recognize that the city's promotion is only one side of a much more complex system of emplaced cultural negotiation. Even given a small sampling of grounded experiences, it is clear that designation only reflects a small part of the actual networks of musical participation that take place in the city.

Figure 9. The Geography of Important Musical Venues

In their discussion of the cultural quarters of Manchester and Sheffield, Brown, O'Connor, and Cohen maintain that, unlike Edmonton's designated Arts District, healthy cultural communities grow out of relationships embedded in places and not simply out of facilities:

> Quarters are complex clusters of activities – they are networks embedded in a particular place. Though there are some obvious reasons why clusters emerge in a particular place – cheap rents, city centre, nearness of a venue or other key services – this does not mean that place is an indifferent space (Larkin). The complex networks of activity and exchange are given a context – they *take place*. This place acquires a series of associations which can be iconic ('Bourbon Street,' 'Carnaby Street,' 'Kings Road,' 'Haight Ashbury') but are also spatially embedded social networks (10).

In reflecting upon the connections that arose from my data, I would like to suggest that these embedded grassroots networks are underutilized by musical institutions and the by organizations promoting arts in our city. In fact, by promoting discreet units of cultural activity, such as Edmonton's festivals or the Arts District, over the widespread and embedded individual connections, the city and the venues themselves are overlooking a fundamental source of support. The stories that Edmonton shares about itself are, of course, focused on city issues, and promotion of the downtown core as an arts destination is understandable and civic-minded. Rather than characterizing this type of community as Gemeinschaft, the social order that is being encouraged by the city is instead, "…based upon a union of rational wills - rests on convention and agreement, is safeguarded by political legislation, and finds its ideological justification in public opinion" (Tonnies,

224). Tonnies characterizes this *Gesellschaft*, translated broadly as *society*, as a social grouping in which individuals have few shared common mores and membership is instead oriented around a shared goal or endpoint. Rather than being motivated by what he calls the organic "essential will" that is found in Gemeinschaft, the morality of public opinion, or "arbitrary will," creates goal-oriented social structures that regulate people and discourse. Within this context he points out that, "the arts must make a living; they are exploited in a capitalistic way" (230).

In the 2006 report, "Economic Impacts of *Arts and Culture* in the Greater Edmonton Region," prepared by Edmonton's Knowledge Management Unit and the Edmonton Economic Development Corporation, this focus on a single segment of the city's cultural life was apparent: "The *Arts and Culture* community in Edmonton is an established and very vibrant part of Edmonton's mosaic. Being recognized as Canada's *Festival City* is directly attributable to the many individuals and organizations that collectively form the *Arts and Culture* community in Edmonton. The local pride and promotional value of this type of recognition is immeasurable" (7). While the report makes an important case for the benefits of supporting a cultural sector, it disregards many important venues, both large and small, that play an important role in the pragmatic cultural and musical lives of Edmontonians; no live music or dance clubs are listed as sources, neither are any educational institutions or Rexall Place. Musical experience in the city is not as limited or contained as the city's self-promotional image suggests - there are many more artistic and creative spaces that are an embedded part of its cultural fabric. While the respondents in my study are certainly not representative of a general population, the breadth of their

answers points to a much broader and much richer mosaic of musical life in Edmonton. With an approach less grounded in *Gesellschaft* and more grounded in the individual pathways and personal relationships that are a part of Edmonton's creative community, both the city and cultural advocates could facilitate synergies and relationships that would lead to creative opportunities, increased community support, and a healthier city.

PART VI. Concluding Thoughts

If *locality* is produced through networks of social relationships and a sense of shared local history (Kruse 1999, 171), then surely an awareness of such networks could strengthen the shared identity of a *place*. In my study I have demonstrated that musical practice contributes to the construction of both geographical and material 'places', as well as providing a locus for the creation of meaning and a sense of community through social networks and pathways of musical participation. The networks in Edmonton are spread out over a ranging city landscape, which inexorably contributes to the character and culture of the city. I have recounted Edmonton's shared local history in relation to my own narrative history in order to illustrate the tension that exists in articulating a uniform identity for the city. Finally, I have suggested a closer examination of the social and musical networks that underpin Edmonton's cultural community.

In this thesis I have employed the idea, from ethnomusicology, that music is more than a reflection of a given culture, music *is* culture. From this perspective, music is a cardinal thread in the stories a culture tells about itself and is complicit in shaping the lives and pathways of individuals within a cultural group. I have used music metonymically as a means of uncovering and questioning some of the cultural dynamics that contribute to Edmonton's collective identity, and through vernacular and personal narrative, have highlighted some of the stories that reflect and enact that identity. By utilizing a dialogic structure in which scholarly texts,

public discourse, and subjective accounts, I have created an interaction between discursive contexts that is both gestalt and "down below." The tension that arises from the juxtaposition of these different types of stories illuminates the liminality and moments of disjuncture that exist within these contexts, and lead to several points for consideration, and venues for further research.

If, as I have suggested, the social networks that connect musical venues are important as soft infrastructure, both individual institutions and the city might benefit from a further consideration of this point. A study that is more directed towards policy issues might analyze the relationship between these benefits and the meta-narratives that are enacted through institutional and government policy and marketing initiatives. Examining and mapping these musical networks could and should be used as analytical tools in micro and macro cultural planning because: "Mapping makes culture more visible so that it can be used in new ways – exchanged, linked and further developed" (Young 2003, 10). UNESCO has even recognized the importance of cultural network mapping, "…as a crucial tool and technique in preserving the world's intangible and tangible cultural assets" (6). If a more comprehensive evaluation of these relationships were to be undertaken in Edmonton, venues could, for example, more effectively cross-market their productions, share advertising and promotional resources, and develop new audiences through these collaborations. The city could more accurately assess the economic impact of arts and culture, and in turn create a more effective funding and promotional strategies. It could also encourage the growth of cultural and service industries in areas where there are higher density cultural clusters. In their *Cultural Mapping Toolkit*, a resource

specifically designed for both local governments and cultural groups, the Creative City Network of Canada also highlights the importance of this type of information in helping to define the local culture and demonstrating the breadth and variety of cultural activity in the municipality (7).

On an institutional level, becoming aware of what connections exist with other institutions could lead to unanticipated synergies. Mark Granovetter argues that, in fact, it is *weak ties*, rather than the strong ones most often identified between institutions that facilitate health and growth in programs, organizations, and societies. Weak ties link dense networks together and since they are less likely to be directly involved with each other than strong ties, provide alternative viewpoints and access to diverse information. Since participation in events typically results from a personal connection to other participants in an event, it is through weak ties that a broad base of connectivity can be achieved. In his discussion of recruitment only through strong ties, as might be intuitive for many institutions in their marketing strategies, Granovetter highlights its problematic nature:

> While members of one or two cliques may be efficiently recruited, the problem is that, without weak ties, any momentum generated in this way does not spread *beyond* the clique. As a result, most of the population will be untouched.

For instance, in my network study the occurrence of "The Blind Pig Pub" was unanticipated. With my subsequent reading of Granovetter this *weak tie* seems to be a case in point where unexpected and highly beneficial synergistic growth might take place. If a more grounded study were to take place in the future, it would be interesting

and important look for other instances of these "ties" by talking with a wider spectrum of performers, audience members, bookers, and owners.

If governments are interested in these issues, then the fact that all these connections remain latent potentialities brings up the issue of public policy making and the conflicts that exist within that process. Jon Hawkes points out that the values of any given society are the foundation on which everything else is built: "These values and the ways they are expressed are a society's culture. The way a society governs itself cannot be fully democratic without there being clear avenues for the expression of community values, and unless these expressions directly affect the directions society takes. These processes are culture at work" (7). In Edmonton, the values that are expressed through cultural promotion and development indicate an unresolved tension between "community values" and "society's culture." Through civic promotional literature, government policy, and cultural development, the culture that is at work is from a one-dimensional Gesellschaft perspective; and by not more fully integrating the cultural landscape that is created through grounded community values, a twofold discriminatory practice has been created. This has resulted in a distinction between government definitions of culture and local cultural practices, in which culture is defined simply as arts and heritage rather than grounded in broader webs of cultural meaning. With his distinction, the city and the Edmonton community have been denied an extremely effective policy and urban development tool. In his introduction to *The Small Cities Book*, Garrett-Petts makes a suggestion that applies equally well to Edmonton as it does to Kamloops: "If smaller urban centres are to prosper and maintain their identities in the face of mass cultural

influences and big-box retailing, they need to think critically about notions of scale, space, and place. To tell their own stories, small cities need to listen to the vernacular, to local examples and voices" (Garrett-Petts 2005, 1). By extension, in employing a top-down, etic perspective in research and policy creation, Edmonton's government is marginalizing the multivocality inherent in any lived place and flattening the lived experience of its citizens. Hawkes proposes an alternative definition of culture that, "...focuses on its use as a concept to describe the community creation of values, meaning and purpose in life" (5). This cultural definition is consistent with the Gemeinschaft typology in which the culture of the city *is* the stories, pathways, and webs of meaning of its residents. Through my initial exploration of social networks between musical venues, I have attempted to uncover a process through which this emic creation of values takes place because culture is a vital aspect in vibrant place and locality production:

> It is said that culture, for all the rich meaning with which Canadians imbue the word, is one of those things that are easy to take for granted. But the fourth pillar substantiates the role artists play in the fabric of towns and cities, and the colour and texture they add to neighbourhoods. Culture, as one Ottawa city councilor put it, is 'the poetry of a city's existence' (Spokes 2004).

The poetry and the prose of a city's existence contain maps that we can read, and the collection of these emplaced stories and voices represents a symbolic landscape - a symbolic cartography. Yet these maps remain implicit in the warp and weave of Edmonton's complex cultural mosaic. The musical pathways and local narratives that I have explored are vital strands in this fabric and they are important, because the musical scene that is shaped by the city also gives it shape: "Edmonton has a scene. Alas, it's a

little behind the scenes and spread out over the map. Wherever it is – whatever it is – you have to drive to get to it" (McKeen 2006).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Public Worlds, V.1. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Attali, Jacques. 1985. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music.* Theory and History of Literature Series, V.16. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press. Original French edition, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976.

Baker, Geoff. 2006. "La Habana que no conoces: Cuban Rap and the Social Construction of Urban Space." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15/2: 215-246.

Banks, Mark, and Justin O'Connor. 2003. "Cultural Industries and the City." In *Changing Cities: Lessons from Research*, ed. M. Boddy and M. Parkinson. Bristol: University of Bristol Policy Press.

Bennet, Andy, and Richard A. Peterson. 2004. "Introducing Music Scenes." In *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*, ed. Andy Bennett and Richard A. Peterson, 1-15. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Bennet, Andy. 2000. *Popular Music and Youth Culture: Music, Identity and Place.* New York: Palgrave.

Berland, Jody. 1998. "Locating Listening: Technological space, popular music, and Canadian meditations." In *The Place of Music*, ed. Andrew Leyshon, David Matless, and George Revill, 129-150. New York: Guilford Press.

Bohlman, Philip V. 1996. "The Final Borderpost." *The Journal of Musicology* 14/4: 427-452.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: Routledge. Original French edition, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979.

Brown, Adam, Sara Cohen, and Justin O'Connor. 2000. *Local Music Policies within a Global Music Industry: Cultural Quarters in Manchester and Sheffield.* Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University Press.

The Canadian Encyclopedia Historica Online. "Alberta." http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0000113

The Canadian Encyclopedia Historica Online. "Edmonton." http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0002525

Carney, George. 1998. "Music Geography." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 18/1: 1-10.

_____. 2003. "Music and Place." In *The Sounds of People and Places: A Geography of American Music from Country to Classical and Blues to Bop*, ed. George Carney, 203-216. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Casey, Edward S. 1996. "How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological prolegomena." In *Senses of Place*. School of American

Research Advanced Seminar Series, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 13-52. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Connell, John, and Chris Gibson. 2003. *Soundtracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place*. London and NY: Routledge.

Cohen, Sara. 2005. "Country at the Heart of the City: Music, Heritage and Regeneration in Liverpool." *Ethnomusicology* 49/1: 25-48.

_____. 1998. "Sounding Out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place." In *The Place of Music*, ed. Andrew Leyshon, David Matless, and George Revill, 269-290. New York: Guilford Press.

_____. 1994. "Identity, Place and the Liverpool Sound." In *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place,* ed. Martin Stokes, 117-134. Oxford: Berg.

Currid, Elizabeth. 2006. *The 'new' New York Scene: How and why fashion, art and music happen in New York City*. Ph.D. diss., Columbia University.

Crafts, Susan D., Daniel Cavicchi, Charles Keil, and the Music in Daily Life Project. 1993. *My Music*. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press.

Creative City Network of Canada. 2007. *Cultural Mapping Toolkit*. Vancouver, BC: 2010 Legacies Now.

de Certeau, Michel. 1984. "Walking in the City." In *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press. Original French edition, Paris: Gallimard, 1980.

de Nooy, Wouter, Andrej Mrvar, and Vladimir Batagelj. 2005. *Exploratory Social Network Analysis with Pajek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunbar-Hall, Peter, and Chris Gibson. 2004. *Deadly Sounds, Deadly Places: Contemporary Aboriginal music in Austrailia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Edmonton Economic Development Corporation and Knowledge Management Unit. 2006. *Economic Impacts of Arts and Culture in the Edmonton Region*. Edmonton, AB: The City of Edmonton. Photocopied.

Ellis, Catherine J. 1985. *Aboriginal Music: Education for living*. St. Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Erlmann, Veit. 1996. "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on world music in the 1990s." *Public Culture* 8/3: 467-487.

_____. 1996b. *Nightsong: Performance, Power, and Practice in South Africa*. Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Part II, "Spaces," 97-280.

Faris, Marc. 2004. "That Chicago Sound: Playing with (Local) Identity in Underground Rock." *Popular Music and Society* 27/4: 429-454.

Feld, Steven and Keith H. Basso. 1996. "Introduction." In *Senses of Place*. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 1-13. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Feld, Steven. 1996. "Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua, New Guinea." In *Senses of Place*. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 91-135. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Fenwick, George. 2007. "Knowing the Score." *Alberta Views* 10/10: 32-35.

Finnegan, Ruth. 1998. *Tales of the City: A Study of Narrative and Urban Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1989. *The Hidden Musicians: Music-Making in an English Town*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flanagan, Jackie. 2008. "Editorial." *Alberta Views* 11/1: 6-7.

Florida, Richard, and Kevin Stolarick. 2006. "Creativity, Connections and Innovation: A Study of Linkages in the Montreal Region." *Environment and Planning A* 38/10: 1799-1817.

Florida, Richard, Louis Musante, and Kevin Stolarick. 2005. *Montreal's Capacity for Creative Connectivity: Outlook & Opportunities*. Toronto: Catalyx.

Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

Fox, Aaron. 2004. *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Gandelman, Claude. 1991. *Reading Pictures, Viewing Texts*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Garrett-Petts, W.F., ed. 2005. *The Small Cities Book: On the Cultural Future of Small Cities*. Vancouver: New Star Books.

Gasher, Mike. 1997. "From Sacred Cows to White Elephants: Cultural Policy Under Siege." In *Canadian Cultures and Globalization*, ed. Joy Cohnstaedt and Yves Frenette. Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies.

Geertz, Clifford. 1996. "Afterword." In *Senses of Place*. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, 259-262. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

_____. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 463-496.

Gould, Peter, and Rodney White. 1974. *Mental Maps*. London and NY: Routledge

Graduate Programs in Music Review Committee. 2002. *Review of the Graduate Programs in Music at the University of Alberta*. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, President's Advisory Committee on Campus Reviews. Photocopied.

Grocheo, Johannes de. 1967. *De Musica* (Concerning Music). Colorado Music Press Translations: Number One. Translated by Albert Seay. Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press. Original Latin text, ca. 1300.

Gumprecht, Blake. "Lubbock on Everything: The Evocation of Place in Popular Music (A West Texas Example)." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 18/1: 61-82.

Hawkes, Jon. 2001. *The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's Essential Role in Public Planning*. Melbourne: Common Ground P/L.

Hirsch, Eric. 1995. "Introduction." In *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, ed. Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon, 1-30. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ho, Wai-Chung. 2003. "Between Globalization and Localization: A Study of Hong Kong Popular Music." *Popular Music* 22/2: 143-157.

Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.

Kauppila, Paul. 2005. "The Sound of the Suburbs: A Case Study of Three Garage Bands in San Jose, California During the 1960s." *Popular Music and Society* 28/3: 391-405.

Kay, Maclean. 2008. "The Calgary Herald Blogs." http://communities.canada.com/calgaryherald/blogs/

Kruse, Holly. 1999. "Indie Pop Music in Champaign-Urbana." In *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 3: The United States and Canada*, ed. Ellen Koskoff, 168-171. New York: Garland Press.

Laba, Martin. 1988. "Popular Culture as Local Culture: Regions, Limits, and Canadianism." In *Communication Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies*, ed. Rowland Lorimer and Donald Wilson, 82-101. Toronto: Kagan & Woo Limited.

Lawrence-Zúñiga, Denise, and Setha M. Low. 2003. "Locating Culture." In *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, 1-47. New York: Blackwell Publishing.

Levesque, Roger. 2006. "Live Music Scene Keeps Getting Better: But Fewer Stores Now Stock Non-Mainstream CD Releases." *Edmonton Journal*, December 26, Culture Section.

LeWitt, Sol. 1967. "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art." *Artforum* 5/10, 79–83.

Leyshon, Andrew, David Matless, and George Revill. 1998. "Introduction: Music, Space, and the Production of Place." In *The Place of Music*, ed. Andrew Leyshon, David Matless, and George Revill, 1-30. New York: Guilford Press.

Lipsitz, George. 1994. *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism and the Poetics of Place*. London & NY: Verso, 1994.

_____. 1993. "Forward." In *My Music*, ed.Crafts, Susan D., Daniel Cavicchi, Charles Keil, and the Music in Daily Life Project, ix-xix. Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press.

Lornell, Kip, and Anne K. Rasmussen. 1997. *Musics of Multicultural America: A Study of Twelve Musical Communities*. New York: Schirmer Books.

Mandel, Stephen. *The Mayor's 2007 State of the City Address*. The City of Edmonton. http://www.edmonton.ca/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_0_272_214_0_43/http%3B/CMSServer/COEWeb/the+mayor/State+of+the+City+2006.htm.

Mahon, John. *Urban Renewal Anchored on Legacy and Community: Edmonton's Churchill Square*. Creative City Network of Canada. http://creativecity.ca/resources/project-profiles/Urban-Renewal-Edmonton-Churchill-Square.html

Martí, Josep. 2001. "Music and Ethnicity in Barcelona." *The World of Music* 43/(2+3): 183-192.

McKeen, Scott. 2006. "Is there an Edmonton Scene?" *Edmonton Journal*, October 13, Culture Section.

Meyrowitz, Joshua. 1985. *No Sense of Place: Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*. Oxford & NY: Oxford University Press.

Nash, Peter Hugh. 1968. "Music Regions and Regional Music." *The Deccan Geographer* 6/2: 1-24.

Nettl, Bruno. 1956. *Music in Primitive Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

_____. 1978. "Introduction." In *Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change*, ed. Bruno Nettl, 1-18. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

_____. 2005. "Location, Location, Location! Interpreting Geographic Distribution." In *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Peterson, Richard, and Roger Kern. 1996. "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore. *American Sociological Review* 61/10: 900-907.

Peacock, Alan." 1993. *Paying the Piper: Culture, Music and Money.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Rice, Timothy. 2003. "Time, Place, and Metaphor in Experience and Ethnography." *Ethnomusicology* 47/2: 151-179.

Rodman, Margaret C. 1992. "Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality." *American Anthropologist* 94/3: 640-656.

Scott, Allen, J. 1997. "The Cultural Economy of Cities." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 21/2: 323-339.

Seeman, T. 1996. "Social Ties and Health: the Benefits of Social Integration." *Annuals of Epidemiology* 6: 442–451.

Slobin, Mark. 1993. *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*. Hanover & London: Wesleyan University Press.

Solomon, Thomas. 2000. "Dueling Landscapes: Singing Places and Identities in Highland Bolivia." *Ethnomusicology* 44/2: 257-280.

_____. 2005. "Living Underground is Tough: Authenticity and Locality in the Hip-Hop Community in Istanbul, Turkey." *Popular Music* 24/1: 1-20.

Spokes, Judy. 2004. *Adapted from the Keynote Address to the Creative City Network, Canada.* Paper presented at the Fourth Pillar of Sustainability Conference, November 29-30, in Melbourne, Australia.

Stamp, Robert M. 2007. "Alberta: Cultural Life." *The Canadian Encyclopedia Historica Online*. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1SEC881046

Statistics Canada. *2006 Census*.

Stern, Mark J., and Susan C. Seifert. 2002. *Culture Builds Community: Social Impact of the Arts Project*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work.

Stokes, Martin. 1994a. "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity, and Music." In *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes, 1-27. Oxford: Berg.

_____. 1994b. "Place, Exchange and Meaning: Black Sea Musicians in the West of Ireland." In *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes, 97-115. Oxford: Berg.

_____. 2004. "Music and the Global Order." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 47-72.

Stolte, Elise. 2007. "Hector Goudreau Says Funding for the Alberta Foundation for the Arts Should Increase, but is Unlikely to Double." *Edmonton Journal*, January 20, Culture Section.

Strangeland, R.A. 1984. *Draft Response to the Unit Review Committee Report*. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, Department of Music. Photocopied.

Straw, Will, 1997. "Communities and Scenes in Popular Music." *Cultural Studies* 53: 368–88, 1991. Reprint, *The Subcultures Reader*, ed. Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton, 494-505. London and NY: Routledge (page numbers refer to reprint edition).

Tippet, Maria. 1994. "An Identity of Tastes and Aspirations: Educating Performers and Their Audiences." In *Canadian Music: Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, ed. Beverly Diamond and Robert Witmer, 29-64. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Tönnies, Ferdinand. 1887. "On Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft." In *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*. Translated and edited by Charles P. Loomis. East Lansing, MI: The Michigan State University Press, 1957. 223-231.

Unit Review Committee. 1983. *Unit Review Committee Report for the Department of Music*. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, President's Advisory Committee on Campus Reviews. Photocopied.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (No Date). *Cultural Mapping*. Paris: UNESCO.

Valentine, Gill. 1995. "Creating Transgressive Space: The Music of kd Lang." *Transactions of the Institue of British Geographers* 20/4: 474-485.

Von Glahn, Denise. 2003. *The Sounds of Place: Music and the American Cultural Landscape*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Waxer, Lise A. 2002. *The City of Musical Memory: Salsa, Record Grooves, and Popular Culture in Cali, Columbia*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Werbner, Pnina. 1996. "Stamping the Earth with the Name of Allah: Zikr and the Sacralizing of Space among British Muslims." *Cultural Anthropology* 11/3: 309-338.

Wikipedia: The free encyclopedia. "Edmonton." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmonton,_Alberta#City_life

Wolf, Richard K. 2005. *The Black Cow's Footprint: Time, Space and Music in the Lives of the Kotas of South India*. Delhi: Permanent Black. Reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Ch. 3, "The Morality of Places", 69-102.

Young, Greg. 2003. *Cultural Mapping in the Global World.* Paper presented at the ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information: Cultural Mapping Symposium and Workshop, December 10-12, in Adelaide, Australia.

Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The Cultures of Cities.* New York: Blackwell Publishing.

APPENDIX A: ETHICS APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Arts, Science & Law Research Ethics Board (ASL REB)

Certificate of REB Approval for Fully-Detailed Research Project

Applicant: Tosha Turner

Supervisor (if applicable): Dr Henry Klumpenhower

Department / Faculty: Faculty of Arts, Department of Music

Project Title: Network Mapping of Musical Practices in Edmonton: A Comparative Study of Post-Secondary Music Programs

Grant / Contract Agency (and number):

(ASL REB member) **Application number**: LKP #1181

Approval Expiry Date: April 19, 2007

CERTIFICATION of ASL REB Approval

I have reviewed your application for ethics review of your human subjects research project and conclude that your project meets the University of Alberta standards for research involving human participants (GFC Policy Section 66). On behalf of the *Arts, Science & Law Research Ethics Board* (ASL REB), I am providing expedited approval for your project.

Expedited research ethics approval allows you to continue your research with human participants, but is conditional on the full ASL REB approving my decision at its next meeting (***April 24, 2006***). If the full ASL REB reaches a different decision, requests additional information, or imposes additional research ethics requirements on your study, I will contact you immediately.

If the full ASL REB reverses my decision, and if your research is grant or contract funded, the Research Services Office (RSO) will also be informed immediately. The RSO will then withhold further funding for that portion of your research involving human participants until it has been informed by the ASL REB that research ethics approval for your project has been granted.

This research ethics approval is valid for one year. To request a renewal after (***April 19, 2007***), please contact me and explain the circumstances, making reference to the research ethics review number assigned to this project. Also, if there are significant changes to the project that need to be reviewed, or if any adverse effects to human participants are encountered in your research, please contact me immediately.

ASL REB member (name & signature): Dr Lynn Penrod, Chair ASL REB

Date: 19 April 2006

APPENDIX B: ETHICS APPLICATION

Through his examination of 18th century French politics in *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*,[2] Jacques Attali locates music at the core of Western civilization. In using music as a tool for enquiry, he asserts that both the social and theoretical constructions of music coalesce to not only signify, but also prophesize the economic, social, and political dynamics of Western society: musical processes of structuring noise become a metaphor for the political process of structuring community. The human dynamics that are embodied in musical production are inherently social and political, coercive and collaborative, concerned both with identity formation and the establishment of social groupings. Music is at once a source of identification, a means of generating and enforcing social conformity, a powerful institutional form that both constrains action and creates a shared symbol of collectivity. Within this context, music acts as a mirror of social process, but is also an agent in structural development of the very culture it represents. Edmonton possesses a vibrant and diverse musical community of artists, administrators, media, institutions, and venues that are all joined through both the public and private participation of individuals. As George Lipsitz points out in his forward to *My Music*, "Our musical practices ... function as nodes in a larger network, as complicated and diverse ways for people to reaffirm old identities and to forge new ones."[3] This network in Edmonton has evolved over time, and presents an important topic for investigation and representation, not only for the local musical community, but also for the broader society that is reflected by it.

The proposed research will use a single participant group to examine the musical consumption patterns of young adults in Edmonton as well as comparatively investigate the student populations of MacEwan and University of Alberta. The goal of the first project is to more fully understand the relationships between local musical venues through an examination of a hierarchical network map of musical institutions in Edmonton, produced through questionnaire and interview data. The goal of the second project is to qualitatively examine and compare the music programs offered by MacEwan and the University of Alberta using questionnaire and interview data in conjunction with public records and historical analysis. The methodology will include:

---

[2] Attali, Jacques. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Theory and History of Literature Series, V.16. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1985.

[3] Crafts, Susan D., Daniel Cavicchi, Charles Keil, and the Music in Daily Life Project. *My Music: Explorations of Music in Daily Life*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993.

- Questionnaire completion will take place over a two week period, and follow-up interviews will take place over a six week period
- Snowball sampling will be used to access participants. For example, University of Alberta music students will be asked to suggest other students. The current participant will be asked to forward the Plain Language Statement to the potential participants and ask them to contact the researcher if they are interested in participating in the study.

Risk to participants will be minimal and should pose no personal or professional peril greater than that encountered in everyday life. The subject matter of the questionnaires and interviews will primarily concern the musical practices and experiences, thus not representing an unusual risk to the participants. Questionnaires will take approximately fifteen minutes to complete, and interview will take approximately one hour. No individuals will be referred to by name, except in the case of specific written permission. Some quotes with interviewees will be used, but participants will not be identified by name. With their permission, they may be identified by functional role or by organization, in order to preserve anonymity. Identifying contextual information about the interviewee will be removed. Data analysis will be qualitative, with the primary focus on thematic analysis.

As a part of my program of study, I have completed a field research course in which we received instruction on the ethics and risks of research involving human subjects. I have read the documentation concerning research ethics at the University of Alberta, and have discussed these ethics with my supervisor/sponsor. I have submitted a signed statement to him that I have heard, read, understood, and will abide by, the research ethics guidelines. In addition to this approval, I have also obtained the written approval of the Chairs of both the University of Albert Department of Music and MacEwan Music Program to ensure the professionalism of the project and the positive perception of participants within their academic community as a result of this research. (Please see attached documents for these approvals.) Before being interviewed by questionnaire or open-ended interview, all prospective participants will be told that their participation is voluntary and will be provided with the Plain Language Statement and consent form. Since there will be minimal risk to the consultants, the project is safe by design and I would like to request expedited approval.

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORMS

Departmental Consent Form

Network Mapping of Musical Practices in Edmonton / A Comparative Study of Post-Secondary Music Programs

Students in your department are invited to participate in two studies that are being conducted by Toscha Turner.

The goal of the first study is to more fully understand the relationships between local musical venues through an examination of a map of musical institutions in Edmonton and how they are linked through patron participation. The goal of the second study is to qualitatively examine and compare the music programs offered by MacEwan and the University of Alberta and how they have each changed historically.

Students will be presented with the attached questionnaire, Plain Language Statement and consent form. They may be asked to participate in an open-ended interview that will expand upon the questions in the questionnaire.

There are no known or anticipated risks to you, your students, your department, or your institution through your approval of this research.

Toscha Turner is a graduate student in the department of Music and the department of Sociology at the University of Alberta and you may contact her if you have further questions by email at, toscha.turner@ualberta.ca.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a Masters of Arts degree. It is being conducted under the supervision of Henry Klumpenhouwer. You may contact my supervisor at 492-2238.

You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting **Dr. Lynn Penrod, Chair of the Arts, Science, and Law Research Ethics Board** at the University of Alberta (492-1199).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Department Chair/Head	*Signature*	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Network Mapping of Musical Practices in Edmonton / A Comparative Study of Post-Secondary Music Programs

You are invited to participate in two studies that are being conducted by Toscha Turner.

Toscha Turner is a graduate student in the department of Music and the department of Sociology at the University of Alberta and you may contact her if you have further questions by email at, toscha.turner@ualberta.ca.
As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a Masters of Arts degree. It is being conducted under the supervision of Henry Klumpenhouwer. You may contact my supervisor at 492-2238.

Purpose and Objectives
The goal of the first study is to more fully understand the relationships between local musical venues through an examination of a map of musical institutions in Edmonton and how they are linked through patron participation. The goal of the second study is to qualitatively examine and compare the music programs offered by MacEwan and the University of Alberta and how they have each changed historically.

What is Involved
If you agree to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include completing a questionnaire that will take approximately fifteen minutes, and/or participating in an interview that will take approximately one hour.

Risks
There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Voluntary Participation
Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study your data will not be used.

Anonymity
In terms of protecting your anonymity, no individual will be referred to by name, except in the case of specific written permission. Some quotes may be used, but you will not be identified by name. With your permission, you may be identified by functional role or by organization, however, in order to preserve anonymity all identifying contextual information about you will be removed.

Dissemination of Results
It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in a thesis publication.

You may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting **Dr. Lynn Penrod, Chair of the Arts, Science, and Law Research Ethics Board** at the University of Alberta (492-1199).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE SURVEY

Participant Survey

Network Mapping of Musical Practices in Edmonton / A Comparative Study of Post-Secondary Music Programs

1. What is your age?

2. What is your gender?

3. Where did you attend high school?

4. What education do you have beyond high school?

5. What program are you in?

6. What year of your program are you in?

7. What is the focus of your program?

8. What is your primary instrument?

9. Do you play other instruments? If yes, what are they?

10. Who have been the most influential musical role models for you?

11. What are your plans upon graduation?

12. What have been the five most significant musical events **in Edmonton** that you have attended or performed in?

13. Where and when did each event take place?

14. Please rate each event from 1-5 as to their personal importance to you.

15. Please describe each event and why it continues to be of significance.

16. What are the occupations of your parents?

17. Do you live at home?

18. How is your education financed?

19. Are you a member of the American Federation of Musicians?

20. How often do you perform? How often is it for pay?/How often for free?

21. Do you teach on your instrument?

22. What are your long-term career goals?

23. What do you hope to do upon graduation?

APPENDIX E: SURVEY RESULTS

Male 18, UA
- Five USO concerts, Convocation Hall, Winspear Centre, 5
- Marriage of Figaro, Convocation Hall, 3

Male 18, UA
- Jury, Studio 27, 5
- ~~Teacher's recital, church, 4~~
- Cantando Festival, Winspear Centre, 3
- Kiwanis Festival, Alberta College, 2
- ~~Recital, Red Deer, 1~~

Male, 19, GM
- Yardbird, every Tuesday, 3
- ~~Summer jazz festival, 3~~
- Harvest Moon Festival, Hawrelak Park, every September, 3

Male, 19, GM
- Chris Potter, Yardbird Suite, 5
- Dave Holland, Citadel Shoctor Theatre, 4
- NOJO, Yardbird Suite 3
- Chris Andrew, Yardbird Suite, 2
- Mo Lefever, Yardbird Suite, 1

Male, 20, GM
- UofA/GMC Jazz Concert, Convocation Hall, 5
- GMC percussion ensemble, John L Haar Theatre, 5
- Brad Grieve Grad Recital, John L Haar Theatre, 5
- GMC Jazz Choir Concert, John L Haar Theatre, 5
- Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, Winspear Centre, 5

Male, 21, GM
- Opening of Winspear, Winspear Centre, 5
- Wilson Picket @folk fest, Gallagher Park,3
- Dave Holland @Yardbird Jazz Festival, Citadel Shoctor Theatre, 5

Male, 23, UA
- Weji 05, Yardbird Suite, 1
- Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra 05, Winspear Centre, 5
- Joshua Redman 04, Winspear Centre, 4
- USO 02, Winspear Centre, 3
- River City Big Band 01, Yardbird Suite, 2

Male, 23, GM
Lois Hole's Memorial, Winspear Centre, 5
Induction of UofA President Samarasekera, Winspear Centre, 3
Pinchas Zukerman and National Arts Centre Orchestra, Winspear Centre, 3

Male, 26, UA
U2, Commonwealth Stadium, 2
YoYo Ma w/ESO, Winspear Centre, 3
Solo recital, PCL Hall, 5
Turtle Island String Quartet, Convocation Hall, 4
Madeski, Martin and Wood, Yardbird Suite, 1

Male, 28, UA
U2, Commonwealth Stadium, 5
Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra, Winspear Centre, 3
Bruce Springsteen, Rexall Place, 2
Robert Cray, Jubilee Auditorium, 1
Nexus, Winspear Centre, 4

Male, 29, UA
USO, Convocation Hall, 5
EYO, West End Christian Reform Church, 5
ESO, Winspear Centre, 5

Female, 19, GM
Rajaton, Winspear Centre, 5
Symphonies, Winspear Centre, 5
~~Kiwanis Festivals, 5~~
Edmonton Folk Music Festival, Gallagher Park, 1
Yardbird Jamming Concerts, Yardbird Suite, 3

Female, 20, UA
Jazz camp faculty band, Convocation Hall, 5
ESO Symphony Under the Sky, Hawrelak Park, 4
USO final concert 04/05, Convocation Hall, 3
Big band showcase '05, Convocation Hall, 2
Music@ con hall: celebration concert (trumpet concert), Convocation Hall, 1

Female, 20, UA
Edmonton Folk Music Festival, Gallagher Park, 5
USO @ Winspear Centre, 2
UofA/GMC Big Band Show 04/05, Convocation Hall, 4
David Bowie, Rexall Place, 3
Supertramp, Rexall Place, 1

Female, 21, GM

Blues on Whyte open jam, every Saturday afternoon, Blues on Whyte, 5
Blind Pig Open Jam, every Tuesday, Blind Pig Pug (St Albert), 4
Yardbird Open Jam, one Tuesday last fall, Yardbird Suite, 2
Superband Concert in Feb06, Sidetrack Café, 3

Female, 22, GM

Jazz City Festivals, Yardbird Suite, 5
Performance for the Queen, Commonwealth Stadium, 2
Symphony Concerts/Festivals, Winspear Centre, 5
2004 Junos, Shaw Conference Centre, 2
Lincoln Center Jazz Orchestra, Winspear Centre, 4

Female, 22, UA

Latin American 1st popular recital, Convocation Hall, 4
Flute masterclass, Convocation Hall, 3
My own flute recital, Studio 27, 5
Cantando Festival, Winspear Centre, 1
William Eddins/ESO, Winspear Centre, 2

Female, 27, UA

Emporer of Atlantis (Edmonton Opera), Citadel Maclab Theatre, 4
Stravisnksy Symphony of Psalms (Alberta Ballet), Jubilee Auditorium, 3
Gary Karr - 1989, Convocation Hall, 4
Sessional Sessions, Telus Centre, UofA, 5
ESO Prokofiev Concert - 2003, Winspear Centre, 5